# NEW TIMES

**Middle East:** the last war?

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FEBRUARY 5-11, 1991

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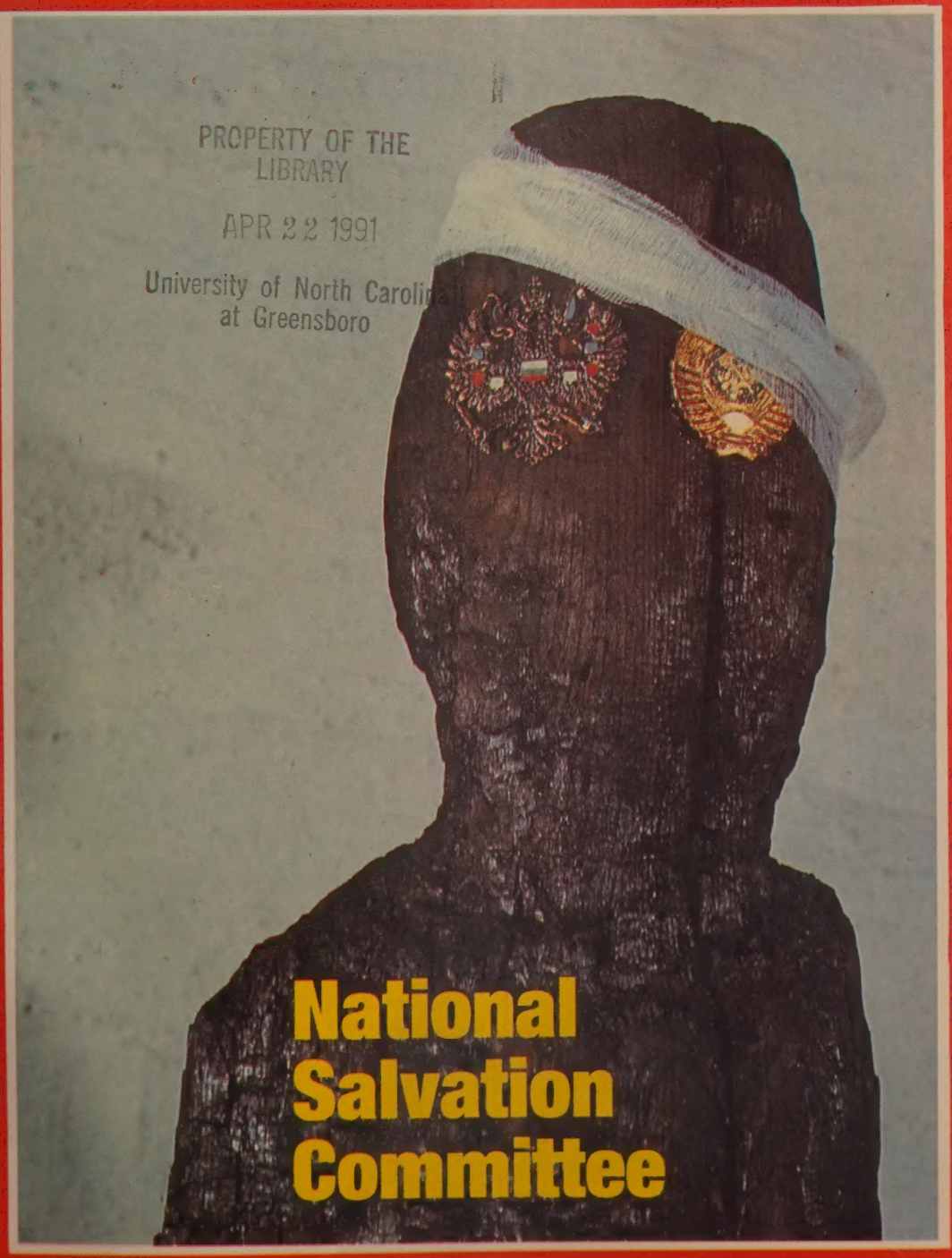

## National Salvation Committee

ISSN 0206-1473

*Beggars and cripples*

ALEXANDER DJIKIYA

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

# NEW TIMES

No. 5, 1991
Founded 1945

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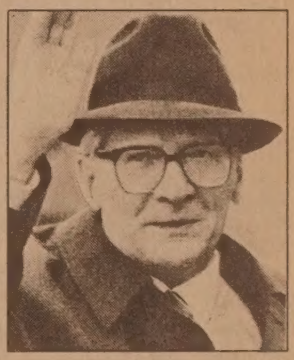

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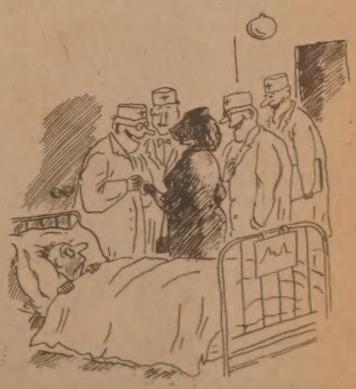

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# From our mailbag

■ I read the article by L. Vasilyev "The Second Revolution". At last we have been told the whole truth and it has had a very beneficial effect on the people's state of mind! A wise man has talked to me.

In the last five years, I have read lots of newspapers and magazines in search of the answer to the damned question: What happened in 1917? I have found nothing in the party publications (they do everything possible to confuse the reader) – so I gave them up. In other publications authors came very close to the conclusions of L. Vasilyev. However, in *NT* I came across a brilliant analysis – brief, accurate and clear.

Man does not need a lot but, I pray to God to give reason to the Central Committee of the CPSU (that is defending the party elite) – it is because of this that we have been having such a difficult time during the last five years! The party must confess to the people.

**N. Kushnir**
Kiev, USSR

■ I like to read your magazine very much and have been reading it since I was a student, that is for nearly 20 years. During this time it has changed for the better. The professionalism of the *NT* authors cannot be called into question. People working for your magazine would not be out of job in any developed country which I cannot generally say about this country. You are rocking the boat because you are taking the lead, but that goes against the grain with some people – so be prepared for everything.

Your best materials are those on developments in this country. However, the ones on international subjects have also become much more professional.

Now, about what I don't like quite frankly. The decorative designs of your advertisements are at a low level. While all of the cartoons and drawings are vibrant, live, kind sensitive, and informative, the advertisements are the exact antithesis. I don't like your photographs either. For this work you have to enlist the services of more talented photographers. Don't be afraid to come out of your shell, you will undoubtedly be up against some tough competition in the future.

Your advertising of the magazine itself is also nothing to write home about. How can you advertise such a good magazine in such a primitive way? Here you should take your cue from the newspaper *Radyanska Ukraina*. They have organized an excellent advertising and information campaign in accordance with the level of their readership and the position of their publisher (the newspaper is the organ of the CPU Central Committee). I was pleased to discover that the articles in the newspaper were of a lower level than their advertisements, but in your case it is just the other way round.

Additionally, your wonderful artists should, perhaps, be helped to organize an exhibition of their works and to publish (maybe as a supplement) a book of their drawings. For the time being I am collecting them myself.

**Larisa Popova**
Dnepropetrovsk, USSR

■ *Komsomolskaya Pravda* wrote about an operation

## Who is going to carry out the reform

■ The elaboration of conceptions of the military reform and corresponding legislative acts and their realization attract, naturally, great attention of the public. But I have been somewhat surprised by the way Simon Kordonsky (NT No. 2/91) raises the question of the need for reform. In many aspects his article is disputable, if not vulnerable. I am not going to discuss it in detail, but only shall dwell on some of its points. I agree with the author that "the East-West confrontation is on the downgrade, but is gradually being supplanted by the North-South confrontation."

Indeed this is the objective reality. Incidentally, this is something for our foreign economic agencies and, for that matter, for our military leadership to ponder over. How long are we going to export weapons, especially to regimes like that of Saddam Hussein?

At the same time, I think that the author was wrong in stating that in conflicts of some types our troops and the troops of NATO "will be not enemies, but allies as one can see now in the Middle East." As for anti-Iraqi coalition in that war, we are acting as allies not of NATO, but as one of the member states of the UN that supports the resolution of the UN Security Council. In spite of all the changes in world politics an alliance with them is not yet in the offing.

Finally, the author believes that the task of the reorganization of the army is too difficult task for our military and our specialists to tackle now and should be tackled only by specialists in pattern research from international research centres. This position is highly disputable. I am not saying this because I want to protect the honour of the regiment. But, in my opinion, the reform of the army should be conducted in close coordination with reforms in all spheres of life in this country. I think that we have quite a few top-notch specialists in pattern research who have far better knowledge of our native Pattern, with all its nuances and flaws, deficiencies and problems than their Western counterparts. But, of course, we could enlist the services of a wider circle of independent experts in order to work out different variants.

**Vadim Makarevsky,**
**major-general, Candidate of Sciences (Military)**
Moscow

**How can you advertise such a magazine in such a primitive way?**

**I want to change my sex!**

which occurred in a Delhi hospital that helped a girl become a boy. Similar cases have been also reported by *Literaturnaya Gazeta*.

Like those about whom these newspapers wrote, I too, have felt like a boy ever since my childhood. Since kindergarten I have liked girls, but everything was simpler then, and now it is simply unbearable. I love a girl and she loves me very much too. We have known each other for five years and cannot live without each other. We cannot pretend any longer – we are already 18. It is very difficult to find virgins at this age, and we too want to have a sexual life.

Only don't write to me that such "passions" are cured by psychiatrists. It will be a waste of time, for I have always felt that I was a male and I shall never be a woman. People around me don't even suspect that this is my real sex.

Help us! We are already not children and we understand everything. We know that we shall have no children, but we love each other very much. If we don't have it our way, my life will be ruined and that of my beloved too.

**V.K.**
Far East, USSR

## THE WAY I SEE IT

*Drawing by Vladimir Soldatov*

■ Last March I wanted to come to Moscow on a private invitation from my relatives. This type of invitation is drawn up by the Visa and Registration Office and serves as the official permission to enter the country. The document stated in so many words that I was allowed to enter the USSR for a period of 45 days. In the Soviet Consulate the invitation is usually automatically exchanged for an entry visa. However, they did not give me a visa and instead sent an inquiry to Moscow. One day before my scheduled departure I was informed that they had received instructions not to let me come. In other words, the invitation issued by the Moscow Visa and Registration Office had been rescinded. By whom and on what grounds? At the Embassy they refused to give me the answer to that question. My relatives in Moscow have also failed to get this question answered. My case was also discussed at the human rights conference in Copenhagen and the American press have written about it, yet nothing has changed.

Late last year I was invited to visit Moscow by the Cultural Initiative Soviet-American fund that planned to publish some of my works. But again, instead of issueing me a visa, the Soviet Embassy in Washington sent an inquiry to Moscow. A representative of the Fund was told by the Embassy that as a rule they don't send such inquiries, but "Semion Reznik's case was a special one." Evidently, my name has been put on the "black" list and for that reason I am deprived, like a leper, of the opportunity to visit my native land, to see my relatives and to visit the graves of my parents. I became a "refusenik" in the sixth year of glasnost!

I am engaged only in literary activities. Hence, my works, which have so far been inaccessible to Soviet citizens, have been vigilantly studied in mysterious offices and some chief who did not like them has made me persona non grata.

To whom do I present a danger? It is not worthwhile to make one's guesses, besides I am not the only one with this problem. Among those on the "black" list are the human rights defender Alexander Ginzburg and the playwright and producer Anatoli Antokhin... Tomorrow any emigrant might find himself in the same situation. The question of whether or not to allow someone into the country continues to be made according to old traditions – decided behind closed doors.

Is it possible that the witch hunt will never end?

**Semion Reznik**
Washington, USA

## 20,000 Hiroshimas for Semipalatinsk

Only bashibuzuki, as Lenin called people who have mental problems, can dream about monarchy. Wasn't tzarist Russia the prison of peoples? Haven't the grief and sufferings of the so-called strangers, the actual dying out of these people, as a result of the most ruthless exploitation and diseases contributed to the fall of morals and the devastation of the sole of this "ruling" nation? Violence and evil cannot provide a basis for power.

Today Black-Hundreders laud to the skies the Tzar. Of course, the shooting of the Tzar's family is a crime. But he himself should have been brought to trial. He should have been punished for the massacre of January 9, 1905, for the persecution of Russian democrats and for scoffing at the peoples of the Ukraine, the Caucasus, the area along the Volga, Kazakhstan, Central Asia and Siberia. Just remember what the repercussions were when the Kazakhs, in 1916, refused to take part in the war, women and children were burned alive on bonfires.

The new system has inherited a lot from the past: a repressive system, machinery, idolization of leaders and mistrust of man; this system has skilfully used the chauvinistic mood of people with retrograde views; everyone kept silent (including the Russians) when they evacuated for perdition Germans, Chechen-Ingushes, Meskhetins and Crimean Tatars, and the country even kept silent when 2,5 million Kazakhs died of starvation between 1932-1934.

Only perestroika has made it possible to begin a charity drive for the victims of Chernobyl. But how can one assess the position of a government which, for 40 years, kept silent about the tragedy of Semipalatinsk? The power of the weapons that were detonated there was equivalent to 20,000 Hiroshima bombs. Hundreds of thousands of people doomed to die, and no one bears responsibility for it!

**K. Kozhakhmetov**
Alma-Ata, USSR

***Compiled by***
**Tatiana Chernova**

ECONOMY

# Beware: stabilization!

*Larisa Piyasheva*

**Law and order. Stabilization. Such are the pillars of the government's policy for 1991. Pavlov cabinet's bank note exchange has stirred up the entire country. What else are we to gird ourselves for?**

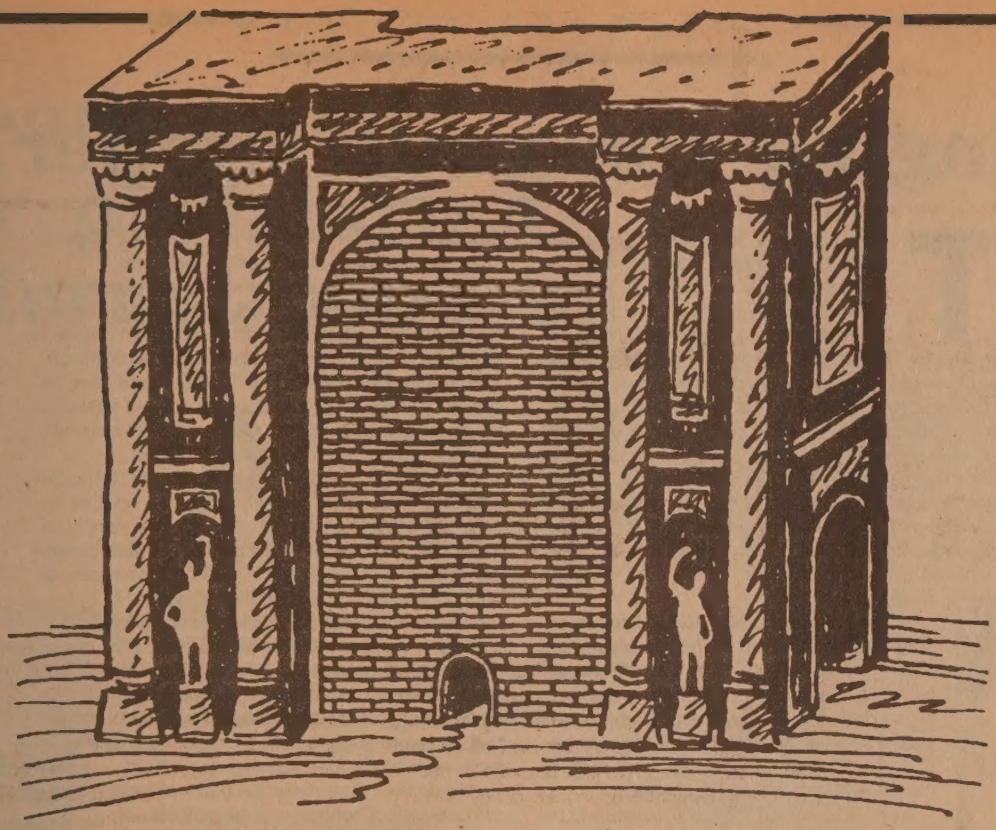
When the democrat rally in Moscow chanted "The Ryzhkov government out" and "The 500-day programme in," implied was not Ryzhkov personally, but the fiasco of his cabinet's economic policy and not Yavlinsky personally, but the need to change economic policy. Radical economic reforms were wanted. As we can see for ourselves the Union government's inflationary pump-priming of emission over recent years has disrupted commerce and economic links, left the economy at the mercy of the black market and barter, depreciated savings and drastically lowered living standards. Inflation, which always distorts relationships and ratios, has accomplished its dark redistributive affair, bringing the population face to face with the hard facts of a sequestrationary monetary reform, a universal system of rationing and the complete absence of consumer goods. Civilian savings, current and future incomes, Western loans and reserves and material resources have all been channelled to back bankrupt factories and farms, and spur a new arms race round, about which US Defence Secretary Cheney has informed us with reference to the statistics. According to what he told our unenlightened MPs, behind talk of conversion and cuts in military spending, the USSR is actually modernizing arms and developing four or five new types of nuclear missiles. During 1989 it produced about ten times more ballistic missiles and three times more thanks than the USA. Apart from that, the concept of self-financing without a market for wholesale trade actually resulted in the trite curtailment of civilian industries.

The Russian Federation government's decision to contribute to the Union budget only the funds needed to finance Union programmes and Union executive structure, provided the allocations for the Internal Affairs Ministry, KGB and armaments to be rigidly stipulated and regulated within the publicized framework of the Union Treaty, paved the way for a new alignment of political forces. The Russian Federation was prepared to shoulder the bulk of economic and social spending and thus augment its own budget and to allot 23.4 billion rubles to the Union budget. Such was the pivotal issue around which passions flared in the Union parliament. Seeking to retain financial control, the Union government undertook a series of subterfuges.

Firstly, it decided to make up for losses by increasing taxes all-round and introducing a new sales tax, to which only military output such as tanks, machine guns ands missiles, was to be exempt, and thus jack average taxation up to 45.7 percent, or 0.7 percent more than the legally prescribed ceiling. Secondly, it decided to exchange 50-ruble and 100-ruble bank notes by "mustering" within a three-day time limit the "cupboard" savings of civilians, and sequestering part of the ready cash held by self-employed businessmen, cooperators, and entrepreneurial "spivs."

The economic policy, which is disrupting monetary circulation and the commodity market, destabilizing the economy, jacking up prices and throttling business enterprise, continues. The new Prime Minister would have us believe that in 1990 inflation in the USSR stood at only 3.5 percent, though in the open market and in "commercial" shops prices multiplied tenfold, while in the state-run retail trade commodities have to all practical intents completely "vanished" into the shadow economy. The new Premier obtained his quoted percentage

IS GOING ON **WHAT** WILL BE



*Drawing by Victor Kazachek*

by adding ready cash to bank deposits to thus compute the price rise index. However, it is absolutely impossible to designate the factually existing level of inflation before goods appear in the shops. After they do appear, should that occur, I think inflation will run at ever more than a double-digit percentage. Indeed, initial attempts in the Baltic republics to stabilize prices resulted in a threefold increase if not more.

Having lost out to the Russian Federation in the "budget war," the Union government is avenging itself by sequestering the property of the man in the street by employing the classic remedies of belt tightening and increased taxation. Preservation of inefficient and irrational economic ties and pump-priming of bankrupt enterprises will only prolong and deepen this slithering towards crisis, while creation of a stabilization fund will result only in the nation's further pauperization. The economy has no extra money available. Hence to create the stabilization fund, emission will simply need to be increased, thereby depreciating the money in the hands of the population. Or this money will have to be sequestered through the medium of increased taxation and a monetary reform. In the upshot, the fleecing of enterprises and the man in the street, termed "stabilization," will apparently spell in the future nothing but destruction and barricades for us, insofar as this selfsame "stabilization" like the previous Abalkin programme is devoid of the basic element: the engine that would spur brisker economic activity and entrepreneurial activity and initiative.

Thus far the republican governments are still trusted – provided they do not follow in the wake of the Union government, do not raise taxation, or introduce new taxes, and do not amplify, but attenuate tax pressure, to thus create incentives for brisker economic activity. They must not draft inflated budgets, but through the lowest overall spending, pave the way for brisker local entrepreneurial initiative as the sure way towards overcoming economic collapse.

If the republican governments subscribe to economic commitments in respect of deliveries to other republics, they will find themselves faced with the same dilemma as the Union government. They will need to either implement a rigid sequestration policy with respect to republican and local enterprises by compelling them to honour republican commitments, or to forego the fallacious practice of signing political contracts on behalf of producers and switch to a new system of direct economic links.

By setting a limit on profitability and increasing sinking fund deductions, by amplifying taxation and creating new mustering "stabilization" funds, our government economists are completely obliterating incentives for productive operations and depriving enterprises of initiative. Yet there may come a time when nothing but armaments will be produced for the open market. The entire economy will turn into a mafia-run shadow economy with black marketing in coupons, ration books, and "name cards," with the "help" of which, the man in the street will shape his "socialist" standard of well-being. We are rapidly, irreversibly moving towards that end. Unlimited economic monopoly and the population's complete disinheritance will transform the entire economic setup into a mafia-run power structure with which no police commissioner Cattani, no constitutionally legitimate democratic government will be able to cope.

The idea at the root of the stabilization fund is to "rescue from bankruptcy the enterprises the economy needs." But are the enterprises the economy needs only those of the military-industrial complex? And do we really have to protect them from "market anarchy" and rescue them from bankruptcy at the expense of resources sequestered from children, sick people and pensioners, by rechannelling worker incomes designated for social requirements into a conversion fund?

# Singing for your supper?

*Gennady Ariyevich*

There has never been anything like this strike before. Nobody lifted a finger to work and, as far as one could judge, it was nationwide. People were counting bank notes, and large bank notes for that matter. Of course, not everyone had them, but it is much more interesting to count the notes in another man's wallet when you don't have many of your own. In short, there wasn't a single scab. Everyone was involved in the pickets discussing the government's decision that had triggered off the strike. Worried, people grouped around those lucky ones who had never seen 50 ruble or 100 ruble notes before, or around these miserable rich who had just drawn two or three thousand rubles from their savings for a long-cherished buy.

As the Russian says, when you cut trees, down the splinters fly. Which adds up to an all-inclusive justification for every kind of "side effect." You can't argue, but nobody wants to be a splinter. Better be the tree stump that was once a full-grown tree. But again, as before, it is the utterly innocent, law-abiding people who land among the splinters.

Out there, behind that wall separating us from capitalism, it is, as we all long well know from the basics of political economics, that everything is for the moneybags who wax fat by fleecing the working man. Which includes government edicts, each new one holding out further prospects for such robbery. No wonder, as the mankins in government cabinets sing the tunes they are told to sing by the men who pay for the music.

With us it is all absolutely different. Everything is for the working man. Including those edicts, which are to protect him from the black marketeers, moneygrubbers and shadow-economy sharks who seek to fleece him. Yet for some reason the trees thicken and speedily adapt to the axe and send roots deeper and deeper down. Only heaps of splinters fall victim.

The latest ukase as to the withdrawal of large bank notes from circulation and the freezing of bank deposits was no exception. It was as hastily mude as it was unexpected. Though something of this order had long been expected, for most it came like a bolt from the blue. We all suddenly felt like cheats and thieves. Indeed, the explanations trundled out on TV screens by the bureaucrats, that honest folk had supposedly nothing to worry about – such the division of labour when the government stirrs us up and television lulls us – sounded exactly like remarks we hear from shop inspector ferreting around in the bags of people passing checkouts to the effect: "We don't suspect you of anything, only not so long ago a similarly intellectually looking gent hid something in his bag on the way out." We're used to this and take it for granted. We've even developed the reflex of opening up bags ourselves. Similarly we take for granted, say, the wage ceiling, as, after all, an ordinary man's wages can't be more than those of the bosses, can they? Why not though? However, only the few who feel insulted when called "intellectual looking" ask that.

This time, as was announced, the idea was to apprehend black marketeers, bribe-takers and counterfeiters. No doubt that's the right thing to do. It's indeed high time to make them toe the line. But again the cripples and the pensioners, in short the people who, as one wit put it, can't remember because of sclerosis whether they go shopping or come back home, are humiliated, confused and suffer heart ache.

On the other hand, the racketeers and shadow economy sharks who scarcely believed – another reflex – the officially trotted out denials of rumours of an impending bank note exchange such denials generally appear to increasingly assume the character of confirmation had long taken due precautions, no doubt selling their hundred-ruble notes for a song or mailing them as postal orders to themselves. True, some may have missed the boat. Although I don't think so, as these pragmatists compute and predict economic and financial twists no whit worse, and of course more realistically than some of our experts. Hardly do they store under the bed hundreds of thousands of "wooden rubles" suitable only to "touch wood." Neither should one underestimate the mafia's potential for adaptability. After all, what sort of a mafia would it be without prompt information and loopholes secured in advance to be resorted to in the event of sudden twists and turns.

**The government's impulsive moves are perturbing. Are they going anywhere?**

However, that shopworn principle of collaring ten innocent people not to let one guilty person get off continues to holds the day. Honest folk are suspected. Of course, they will vindicate themselves before strict commissions – as they are used to that. The more so, as they well realize that urgent steps need be taken to rectify the situation. Indeed, for the common weal, the individual may grin and bear it, until personal dignity assumes priority at last.

Theoretically, shop shelves and warehouses should be packed with commodities, moreover at normal accessible prices. But that's theory. In practice, scarcely will even the most sequestering semireforms to engulf the billions of unbolstered rubles, which the government has so airily emitted. The more so that vendors command a high survival potential. Indeed, to go on getting "over and above" they will organize a crude commodity exchange in convertible scarcities. Their field is unlimited!

The United Workers' Front may rest happy: the motto "Loot the Looted!" still carries the day with the masses.

But, for some reason nobody seems to have noticed that all other social issues have suddenly been pushed into the background. Even many defenders of Lithuania's parliament had to forego their posts. Perhaps a universal panacea has at last been worked out to attain public tranquility? Just three or four such reforms a year, and all worries blow away.

# Death knell for proletarian internationalism

**Will the conflicting sides in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia meet one another halfway? No, unless they "step into each other's shoes..."**

*Vladimir Voina*

A new science, "conflictology," being elaborated in the United States and other countries around the world is attracting more and more press coverage. This is the science of settling conflicts and all kinds of differences ranging from family quarrels to international disputes. It is believed that basically the means of settling conflict do not differ much...

Could one apply the conflictology approaches to the most complicated knot of contradictions today: the conflict between Moscow and the separatist republics? Could the conflicting parties find common ground and a formula for compromise?

## Common ground

The first principle of the new science is simple: both sides involved should abstract from their **principles** for some time and think about what their real **interests** are. With the help of a mediator the sides should "step into each other's shoes" and try to understand each other's interests. If they succeed, they may be able to forego intolerance for understanding and find a sphere of common interests...

Is there a common ground for reconciliation in the Baltic crisis?

This common ground is a vast one. First, the republics do not intend to break existing economic ties and are already signing accords on continuation of mutual economic relations (after all no republic is industrially self-sufficient). Second, they are interested in developing scientific, cultural, sports and other ties, and do not want to break them either...

Third, the world at large, including the "rebel" republics, supports the foreign policy of the USSR. Even if the republics break away, why not set up an integrated structure for coordinated political actions, something like what the Warsaw Treaty states used to do? If such a structure were established, many political losses would be avoided. Last but not least, the republics unanimously advocate a free market economy.

The difference begins when it comes to the tactics of achieving the desired goals more quickly and efficiently. The desire to break away has been generated, particularly by some republics' belief that Moscow is resistant to radical reforms like the ones under way in Poland or Hungary... These republics believe that possessing a different historical experience and free from ideological prejudice, could adapt to the new trends more easily. Does this contradict the interests of the Centre? Doesn't Moscow plan to set up "free economic zones" and to switch over to world standards and prices in economic relations? These republics strive to be economically independent, and since they were the first to speak about "republican cost-accounting," which is now a commonly accepted economic practice, let them show the rest of the country how to enter a free market economy. Their experience can be very valuable.

Common ground can also be found on such a sensitive problem as protection by Moscow of its geopolitical interests.

What are these interests? The inviability of Soviet borders and the possibility to prevent any external attack.

Warsaw Treaty States used to accomodate Soviet military bases (including those of nuclear missiles), to invite Soviet military instructors and to import Soviet-made weapons and this did not prevent them from maintaining their own armies. Won't the republics agree to a similar status? The Centre's concessions (should they occur) their independence would make the newly independent states more inclined to understand the Centre's interests in avoiding the power vaccuum that appeared after the demise of the Warsaw Treaty. Eastern Europe has been "Finlandized." Perhaps, the break-away republics would agree to "Warsawization"? Such an agreement would end all the talk about the division of Soviet nuclear arsenals and damage to Soviet defence interests. A compromise formula can be found here as well.

## A common home or a hostel?

There are two important problems on which the conflicting sides seem to be irreconcilable. These are: the psychological shock connected with the loss of what used to be a part of the USSR and the necessity to protect millions of Russian-speaking people from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea.

The psychology of Russian-speaking people of the USSR has been formed under the influence of platitudes of a once popular song: "From Moscow across to the remotest parts, from Southern mountains across to northern seas, people feel masters of their vast Motherland." Estonians, Lat-

vians and Lithuanians, though, have never felt masters of this country which is outside their own lands.

Although it may be difficult to do so. We need to understand those whose fathers and grand fathers has fought for freedom and against the empire, called the "prison of the peoples" by the Bolsheviks who came to power in 1917. The Bolsheviks promised freedom for colonial peoples and spoke of Russia's historical guilt, a "double oppression" in the national provinces, which included the suppression of local languages and culture...

The Bolsheviks soon forgot their promises, however, and the empire was reassembled by armed forces. Naturally, no province of the former Russian Empire volunteered to return to the USSR. Finland and the Baltic states gained freedom only through armed resistance and Poland was nearly occupied by the Red Army. It is time to dispell the myth about "gifts" of generous Bolsheviks; obsessed with the devilish idea of expanding their world revolution, the Bolsheviks relied only on force, and only external resistance prevented them from restoring the Russian Empire in its former borders. However, Stalin took care of them later...

The empire has not paid its debts. On the contrary, the debts have grown thousandfold. Can one, in fact even calculate the losses? Millions of people died, were beaten to death in various prisons and labour camps and were left to rot alive in exile! Unlike Germany which is paying compensation to the victims of fascism, the Soviet Union has not even admitted its moral responsibility to the people it tried to exterminate. What about the real debts, which are expressed in monetary terms? Before the World War II Estonia had higher living standards than neighbouring Finland. Who will repay Estonia for the profits that were lost, for the decades of powerty, for confiscated houses, enterprises and lands, and for its current miserable existence? The republic turns out goods that nobody needs, but that must be produced according to the plans of the USSR State Planning Committee!

The only consolation offered to the people of the once totalitarianism-plundered republics is: we had suffered together and we shall revive together. However, did the republics ever ask to be admitted to this "paradise"? They believe that alone they can liberate themselves from this "paradise," foisted upon them from abroad...

Land to peasants and power to the Soviets..., but what about freedom to the people? Why can't the advocates of "a united and indivisible power" understand the feelings of the people who were robbed and who are currently denied the right to decide which gods to worship, which heroes to commemorate, which friends and business partners to choose, and which language to speak? You egoists, they are told, you want to lock yourselves up in separate flats, while Europe is on the way to integration! However, these forces should realize that Europeans are only removing locks from their flats' doors. Europeans have no desire to live in one huge shared flat with one cot for each occupant. The republics should not be blamed for putting these "unfashionable" locks on their doors. They are simply trying to protest themselves from an onslaught from the outside and it is their right to do so.

## My language is my enemy

However, the people who moved to the Baltics and settled there peacefully and not as part of an occupation, also have rights. Their destiny is the most difficult aspect of this complex question. It is important for both sides that the problems of their citizenship, status, rights and privileges be solved in the spirit of international law. If someone speaks the local language poorly, who will provide him or her with an interpreter if he or she is to be tried in court? There are hundreds of such problems... However, there are also solutions. Concesions to minorities may include longer terms of study of the local language and special conditions for language studies. Compact groups of people living in the industrial almost totally Russian-speaking enclaves could send their representatives to the bodies of power, schools and institutions of culture, in order to prevent possible discrimination on ethnic grounds. Any problem can be solved by neighbours as long as the neighbours are in friendly terms. But once blood is spilt, any situation becomes much more difficult to resolve.

However, minority privileges do not include the right of succession, as leaders of Russian-speaking communities maintain by insisting that predominantly Russian cities and areas can succeed from national republics and reunify with Russia. Such groundless claims can generate a wave of hatred on the part of the indigenous populations of these republics which have traditionally been hospitable to Russians. Estonians, for example, displayed a great deal of tact and understanding in their acceptance of the wave of Russian emigrants after the revolution, but, these emigrants were modest and noble, unlike today's followers of the Internationalist Front.

There is a need for mutual understanding between these two opposing groups.

### To the Russian people of Lithuania!

Open violence is being perpetrated on your behalf. Tanks are rolling in, shots are being fired and people have already been killed. We are sure that you shuddered when you learned about the crimes. We must distance ourselves publicly from real criminals, we must cleanse ourselves from the filth which is abusing our name and our language.

We kneel before those whose blood was spilt to defeat the fascist putsch, we will march in a mournful procession side by side with Lithuanians, Poles, Byelorussians, Jews – all people living in Lithuania. We believe that we are not the only ones who feel the need to lay flowers at the graves of the victims, to light candles and to lower our national white, blue and red flag. We address all priests of Russian Orthodox Churches, asking them to say a final prayer for the victims. Let us bow our heads before our common grief.

We await you at 11 a.m., January 16, in front of the Monastery of the Holy Spirit.

Russian Culture Centre

**While the Interfront followers chant anti-nationalist slogans, the Russian Culture Centre calls for unity in the face of common grief. Whose side will Lithuania's Russian-speaking community take?**

In particular, one must understand that the people of the Baltic republics oppose bilinguism and refuse to use the Russian language because it is alien to them and embodies the evil of the Soviet occupation. "What will you do without us Russians and without the language of international communication?" some Russians ask. "We shall manage somehow," the local people reply. "After all, we were somehow able to do without it before 1939. Those who still cannot speak English, or French or German will learn these languages." Does one really need to speak Russian to become a part of Europe?

The Baltics have the right to insist that anyone holding a job, especially in the sphere of service industry, administration, health care, education, science and culture, speak the national language. While living in their own land, must the Baltic residents really talk to a shop assistant, a doctor, or a teacher in Russian? There is one more thing. If you want to live in another country, be sure to follow that country's rules, customs and traditions. The primary criterion of loyalty to a host nation is the knowledge of that nation's language and customs. Any country grants its citizenship on the condition that the one aspiring to receive citizenship speaks its language unless one's a baby or an aged person and provided one is willing to work.

If a person thinks that any language, except Russian, is too difficult to learn, then the only correct decision for him or her is to leave the republic. To become a refugee? Why? People coming to live in the Baltics were indeed migrants, but now that they return to their native land they can hardly be called refugees. Nobody is driving them out by force, they are welcome to stay if they learn the language...

The Lithuanian mission in Moscow is receiving thousands of applications from people willing to settle in Lithuania – because it is on the verge of independence. These people are eager to study Lithuanian – and to live according to Lithuanian law. I am sure that they will be welcome there. There is no hatred for Russians in Lithuania or anywhere in the USSR; once the occupation has ended, Russians will be welcome as guests, but only as guests, not the masters which they used to be and still are.

## The most democratic colonization?

The Russian-speaking minorities in the Baltic republics often do not understand the role they were supposed to play in the colonization of the empire's remote provinces. Today, people feel offended "we have been betrayed," they say...

Some of them were recruited for large industrial and construction projects, so are they to blame for having settled there? Many highly-skilled professionals were wooed to the republics by lavish promises because the republics lacked experienced national cadres. Whole villages were resettled sometimes, in an effort replace dispossessed and exiled local peasants... Union ministries sent small teams of workers to set up republican branches. For the indigenous population, this migration of workers looked like Moscow's intrigues, while the migrants believed that the republics had actually invited them. What is the situation like now? Even the domicile registration (propiska) regime which was liberalized especially for those republics allowing former convicts denied jobs and housing elsewhere to settle there, was not set by the republics, but by Moscow.

At first glance colonization might have seemed to be democratic and at the grassroots level: people were attracted by the prospects of living in a richer, more civilized and cultured land than their poverty-stricken Non-Black-Earth Area... Are they to blame for this? But have they ever thought how difficult it was for the indigeneous people to live in small and overcrowded apartments when all newly built housing was allocated for the newcomers? How difficult it was for the local people to see heaps of rubbish in the streets and parks, to watch the spread of poverty and an alien culture, and to see the gradual dissolution of the indigenous nations, like in Karelia where Karels proper constitute an insignificant segment of the population. What was the purpose of this colonization, then?

This was a strategy: peoples were to become an alloy in the melting pot of internationalism; the very possibility of ethnic protest was to be ruled out; the state was to be unified; and the work of the apparat and the military was to be made easier by the transition to uniform thinking, uniform language, and "one-dimensioned" man, a slave, prepared and willing to go to any "construction project of the century," who did not even have to be compelled to go there. Even the dumbest soldier has to understand orders, and in a similiar fashion the country's industries were to use uniform documents and the whole nation was to live according to instructions from above.

This was a difficult task and required a purge of people's historical memory and love for history. It was necessary to sever people's historical roots and to erase the memories of the past from their minds. They say that the Russian people suffered especially much... It is difficult to be speaking in terms of quantity, but it is absolutely evident that Russia, Russian language and culture have been dramatically damaged. The surrogate Russian language invented for radio programmes and front-page editorials, meetings and congresses was the means of communication for semi-literate idiots. The quicker this surrogate language "spread among the masses," the more national schools were closed down in the republics the better was the life of local party bosses and university professors specializing in "internationalism." One may ask: weren't the party bosses and corrupted professors representatives of the local nationalities? Yes they were, but they curried favours with Moscow, Moscow applauded them and awarded them for their efforts. Any epoch generates its Quislings.

The Union ministries and the State Planning Committee of the USSR knew what they were doing when they were busy setting up industries not backed with any raw materials, power or work force (local people rarely volunteered to work there because they had better skills and they were willing to do other jobs). The main problem was that the republic itself did not need that many excavators, for instance. The excavators produced there went somewhere else and therefore brought no prosperity or happiness to the republic where they had been produced. These republics would have been happy to develop industries producing advanced equipment, electronic appliances, high quality furniture and textile goods, like South Korea or Taiwan. However, Moscow's policy was different: the republics were to become "banana" republics with some producing tea and others citrus fruit, grapes, cotton or rice. The centre benefited from this policy because it helped to cement the republics together by a common poverty and interdependence so that no republic could even dream of things like sovereignty. Now we are reaping a harvest of wrath.

The policy was pursued by people of different nationalities, but it was the policy of **Russification.** Who had set peoples against each other? Is there a way to return to good-neighbourliness?

If we seriously want to fix the situation, we must admit that the "great social experiment" of melting peoples into one entity has failed totally. Once we admit this, we will be able to negotiate. We shall admit our guilt before the people who had never actually invited us to their lands. We shall patiently listen to their arguments without calling them bandits and extremists. We shall honour their right to publish their views in the press. We shall consider their viewpoint. Only then, most likely, will they agree to seek a way to concord and make concessions for the sake of mutual interests.

One last piece of advice: do not think whose share of the pie is fatter, try to make the pie bigger, so that all shares become fatter. Both sides want peace, concord, mutual sympathy, trust and good-neighbourliness. This is in their interests. This will be their award for the efforts we all must start making.

# The Ukraine we did not know

## Complex processes are under way in the Ukraine, a sovereign republic with the second largest economic potential in the Soviet Union

The Ukraine has a historic chance to recreate an independent and democratic nation-state committed to universal human values. It is a unique and real chance. The point is that for the first time in centuries, the words "empire" and "Russia" are no longer identical: Russia was also a victim of the new empire.

### Rukh – a party or a front?

National consolidation remains an important problem for the Ukraine. The republic does not have such a rallying ideological centre as the Roman Catholic church in Poland. There are three main confessions – Ukrainian Greco-Catholic, Ukrainian Autonomous and Russian Orthodox. For centuries the Ukraine's neighbouring states vied for control over it. Up to ten times it was divided and redivided. It can be said therefore that each part of the Ukraine has had its own history. This circumstance explains the significant differences among the various parts of the republic in the socio-economic, ethnic and political respects.

Eleven million Russians living in the Ukraine represent a no less important factor. The establishment of an independent democratic Ukrainian state is impossible without guaranteeing their rights and lawful interests. The consolidation of the entire people of the Ukraine seems to be the optimal way of gaining independence and preserving its territorial integrity. There are two basic conditions for achieving this aim: the balance of interests of the individual and the nation as a whole, and a new flexible structure that would take into account the specific features of various regions in a united and indivisible Ukraine.

A broad national democratic movement like the Civic Forum in Czechoslovakia or Solidarity in Poland could play a great part in the consolidation of the peoples of the republic. Theoretically, the popular movement Rukh could become a centre of consolidation in the Ukraine. The Rukh has certainly achieved great successes. The main of them is the awakening of national self-consciousness. However, it has not always found a balance between the struggles for national and general democratic rights.

The second congress of the Rukh transformed it into an umbrella organization which seeks to be the consolidating centre for various parties, public organizations and individuals on the way to the establishment of an independent and democratic Ukrainian state. The success of this plan depends on how the Rukh will be able to avoid a shift towards an anti-democratic ideology and political practice. The Rukh must become a coalition not of forces opposed to the Communist Party of the Ukraine, but of all democratic opposition forces. Only in this way will it be able to offer a real alternative to the Communists in the political scene of the republic.

### Right-wing forces

New political parties are only beginning to take shape. They are few and weak. A broad "middle segment" (students and a part of scientists, engineers, technicians and workers) remains most active politically. It constitutes the main social base of the right-wing (anti-communist) movements now on the rise and naturally has an influence on the working out of their programmes.

The National Party and the People's Democratic Party, which hold extreme right-wing views, came out with the initiative of organizing an "interparty assembly" with the aim of forming citizen committees of the Ukrainian People's Republic (abolished by the Bolsheviks in 1919-20), and convening a national congress and a constituent assembly as the "only legal bodies of authority." The National Party, based mainly in the Western Ukraine, flatly refuses to participate in the presently existing government structures. It idealizes the history of the Ukraine and conducts tough anti-communist propaganda.

The People's Democratic Party, which holds more moderate views, is trying to put forward an economic programme. However, the programme of this "right-wing" and openly anti-communist party contains many demands of the left-wing forces. It calls for the "combination of labour and property," the uncompensated transfer of enterprises to the ownership of their work collectives, and large government expenditure on social needs. The Agrarian Democratic Party has found itself in a similar position. As distinct from other radical parties, it pretends to have a more clear social orientation. However, it vies with these parties employing militant calls. Trying to find a way out of the present crisis in the Ukrainian countryside, the Agrarian Democratic Party takes part in the activity of the ultra-radical "interparty assembly." It is not quite natural in view of the inertia and moderate views of the Ukrainian rural population.

The right of centre parties are growing more radical too. In particular, the largest of them, the Republican Party, claims to be a champion of traditional liberal-conservative values. The Republican Party has grown out of the Ukrainian Helsinki Union. However, instead of acting in the spirit of liberalism, it tries to hold sway over the national anti-communist movement. The Republicans are a party of respectable national conservatism, which seeks to formulate a serious political doctrine. However, as with the other right-wing parties, it holds rather superficial views as far as economic and social matters are concerned.

### The danger of "neo-Bolshevism"

On the opposite side of the political scene is the Communist Party of the Ukraine. It should be noted first of all that the party members are now "demoralized," both politically and ideologically. Many of them are leaving the Party.

On the other hand, serious disagreements, especially on the Ukraine's future

**Hardly anyone dares predict the results of the forthcoming referendum on the Treaty of Union in the Ukraine. Quite a few Ukrainians say "No to the Treaty"**

status in the world community, seem to exist in the party apparat. A part of the Communist Party, led by the Supreme Soviet chairman Leonid Kravchuk, tries to take advantage of the rising national self-consciousness and poses as a champion of the Ukraine's state sovereignty. However, it does that very carefully yet inconsistently, looking constantly back at Moscow and especially at Russia, as if considering what it "already can" and what it "cannot yet" do.

It is possible that, given a "favourable" alignment of forces in Moscow, the Communist Party might "waver" under the pressure of national democratic ideas and back the idea of an independent republic, exerting the maximum effort to retain its positions in the Ukraine. As distinct from the "orthodox" Communists of Russia led by Polozkov, the more pragmatic "upper crust" of the Ukraine want to adapt themselves to the changing situation without losing their privileged position in society.

The Communist Party takes advantage of the lack of understanding and prejudice between the people living in different regions of the republic, skilfully using the classic "divide and rule" method, and intensively exploits the traditional pragmatism, psychological conservatism and moderation of the Ukrainians.

The growing confrontation between the two extreme and irreconcilable political groups is destabilizing the internal situation. While the danger of restoration of communist totalitarianism is clear to everyone today, the increasing ultra-radicalism and "neo-Bolshevism" in the anti-communist opposition is a relatively new phenomenon, and it is all the more dangerous for the more complacent attitude taken to it by the democrats.

## Classic and neo-classic centres

The Social Democratic Party, the Liberal Democratic Party, and the Party of Democratic Revival of the Ukraine, which has grown out of the Democratic Platform Party, occupy the central space in the political scene of the republic. The Liberals advocate traditional European liberalism with its emphasis on the interests and rights of the individual, private ownership and free enterprise. The Social Democratic Party holds right-wing social democratic views. Accepting the traditions of the Ukrainian social democrats of the early 20th century, the Social Democratic Party critically reappraises the experience of world social democracy, adhering to the position of solid individualism, and seeks to achieve a balance of responsibility for every one and the solidarity of all.

The ideological goals of the Party of Democratic Revival of the Ukraine are similar to those of the Social Democrats and Liberals. True, the PDR is a rather left of centre party. Being one of the largest parties with an effective structure, a considerable faction in parliament (called the Democratic Platform), and experienced cadres, the Party of Democratic Revival will constantly have to prove that it has nothing to do with the Ukraine's Communist Party.

The neo-classic centre of the political scene is represented by the Green Party and also by the Democratic Party. Their programmes call for solutions to the problems facing the Ukraine today. The Green Party has good political prospects, for the local ecological situation is disastrous. Its aim is to bring the interests of man into harmony with the supreme biospheric laws of nature. The party seeks to head the mass movement for environmental protection.

The Democratic Party, still in the process of forming, will apparently attract many activists of the Rukh, especially from its moderate centrist wing. Just like the Rukh on the whole, the Democratic Party lays emphasis on the national democratic revival of the Ukraine. At the same time its social and economic views will probably be close to the social democratic and liberal ideas.

The transition period, inevitably accompanied by growing contradictions and tensions, creates a favourable atmosphere for the growth of populist parties and movements. Now that the confrontation between the party hierarchy and national radicals can turn the cold civil war into a hot one, the centrist parties must do everything to keep the national democratic revolution within peaceful bounds. Only civil peace will provide favourable conditions for overcoming the totalitarian legacy and establishing genuine democracy in the Ukraine and its sovereignty.

*Victor Vovk and Alexei Mustafin*

KIEV

# The man with the gun

*Vladimir Zhitomirsky*

Week-end events are becoming traditional. First Vilnius, next Riga and now an order for armed soldiers to patrol city streets as of February 1.

For a noble purpose of course. To bring the overweening criminals to book. And also call to account extremists, everyone insulting the Army and Navy and other disturbers of public order as imagined by Marshal Yazov and General Pugo, who signed the respective order as heads of the Defence and Internal Affairs Ministries.

Evidently foes of the criminal code will find themselves in hot water now that the Army and Navy will collaborate with the police. They are to combat crime in full accord with all the rules of military strategy.

Now forget those airy thoughts as to whether this order is constitutional in the absence of an emergency, martial law or state of siege. How trifling. Turn your mind to other things. To the fables, for example. What happens when cobblers cook pies or cooks cobble boots. In both cases the end result as one wit put it will be cobbled cooking. After all, only the professional does the job professionally. You can't ask law enforcers to steer ships. It's not their business. They have enough to cope with as it is. But there, I hear you say, they can't manage, and crime is on the rise. Yes, regretfully. For which there are reasons. One is the insufficient number of highly competent law enforcers who are outfitted with old equipment and whose pay does not take into account the round-the-clock dangers and other specific features. However, the needed financial resources are lacking. Not so before. Then had the mint been assigned a higher quota the money would have been found to raise pay, train personnel and equip them properly. Only now is it realized what the printing of bank notes with the meaningless legend of "100 rubles," really entails. No, there's no money to pay and equip a good law enforcement agency. Yet, there is a pool, augmented by troops withdrawn from Eastern Europe, from which more and more men may be recruited. Or take the construction battalion experiment. When no ordinary building workers are available, conscripted soldiers are made to do the job somehow. Now if soldiers can build, why can't they enforce the law?

True, a whole range of unexpected developments might eventuate as regards the man in the street. But once you put your hand to the plough, they say, there's no turning back. As it's been announced that the best patrols will be rewarded, perhaps the amount of the reward will depend on the number of detained; or better say, captured, suspects.

Then what are these combined patrols to use for transport? Not only patrol cars, but also armoured carriers as that is more impressive and more habitual for the conscripted soldier. Take the Baltic states, where you see tanks rumbling around the streets.

True, that was at the request of the Committees of National Salvation. But hold your horses. Suppose that in a "major industrial centre," where from February on, streets and squares will be, to all practical intents, under army control, a salvation committee is organized? Further imagine a similar committee is set up in a neighbourhood unit and two or three patrols are asked to help take over the neighbourhood? Continuing we may imagine a salvation committee for a street or even a multistorey apartment house. Although, why necessarily an apartment house?

Of course, soldiers have commanding officers. But why not respond to requests from citizens assembled in a committee, even one totally unknown. Then who is to command these new patrols? The local Soviets? Or high ranking officers? This is of no mean importance, especially as we still do not know which army or other chiefs activated the military machine in those critical situations in Tbilisi, Vilnius and Riga. Indeed with the armed forces at sixs and sevens that amounts to a pretty mess. Why also mention in that respect such army "traditions" as the bullying and clannishness that has taken toll of so many hundreds of lives? Won't a "fazed" patrol like to get its own back by maltreating someone tipsy or too merry? What, policemen won't allow it? Hardly will decisive trained army patrol partner heed.

**Got a committee of salvation in your house?**

The new law enforcers have been authorized to ensure order also at demonstrations and rallies. But suppose they drag on for hours. Won't a man with the gun come up and say that as the patrol is bored and tired, the meeting or demonstration will have to disperse.

True, several days after the December order of the two ministers was made public, Moscow's military commandant Smirnov countered some provisions of the said order. More specifically, he said the patrols were not entitled to detain civilians except for deserters ands AWOL soldiers in civvies. On the other hand, they must intervene in event of "actions against law and order." But how? That is not at all clear. He also qualified as "hearsay" the proviso to assign armoured carriers to the patrols. Again a contradiction in terms. Perchance that refers only to the capital? What about the provinces then? We have heard such assurances from the military before, in Vilnius and Riga.

Still perhaps our apprehensions, though stemming from our eventful history are really groundless. Why then not get the man in the street to realize in advance that it is necessary to calmly accept the order-edict? Why not adduce weighty arguments to assuage his fears? Or perhaps they find it more habitual to issue commands overnight and declare in advance that any attempt to understand what it means is an "insinuation conceived only by persons with unseemly aims in mind"? ■

# Forget about socialism on the road to a market economy

*Leonid Vasilyev*

**It is senseless to talk about a non-capitalist market. The socialist market is our black market driven underground and merged with the criminal world. There is no, and neither can there be, another socialist market**

It was believed for a long time that the non-market socialism framed by Marx was a real alternative to the capitalist road. Appropriate terms were even coined: two competing worlds, capitalist and socialist, and the **third** world of developing nations. It has proved to be a myth now. There is no non-market road of development. The socialist road charted by Marx is merely a tougher variant of the oriental controlled market deprived of rights.

Owing to cruel terror, violence and despotic rule the central authorities were able for a short time to make more or less effective the labour of slaves who believed in the radiant future and were prepared to work to exhaustion for their living. It soon turned out that overexertion and faith were transient factors. They gave way to a market that could ensure at least a tolerable existence. It was a black and deformed market.

A number of third-world countries chose the path of non-market socialism. This happened so because non-market socialism proved clear and genetically close to these countries with their controlled market of an oriental type. The non-market road charted by Marxist socialism led to a deadlock. The Chinese understood this earlier than others. As a result of reforms carried out after the death of Mao the usual oriental market was restored. This enabled the country to survive and even partially make up for lost time. Later on this path was also taken by other countries, particularly East European states which were faced with the principled question of building a capitalist market of the European type.

Psychologically, it is difficult to abandon the bright idea of socialism even after the complete failure of its implementation in Marxism. This explains why some people talk about socialist market and market in general, that is, not necessarily capitalist. Indeed, in old times the free market was not a capitalist one. But it was in the past. At present there is no, and neither can there be, an antique style of market. The capitalist market is its legitimate successor. As for the socialist market, it is our black market driven underground and merged with the criminal world. There is no, and neither can there be, other **socialist** market.

For the Soviet Union and all other countries which tried to build non-market Marxist socialism with its mafia-dominated black market there is the only road – **to the capitalist market.** There is no, and neither can there be another market in our days. We can either adopt this road, well understanding where to go, how and for what purpose, or keep to our old principles and remain on the side of the road of world progress.

The example of China shows that it is not simple to make a choice. However, sooner or later, a choice has to be made by everyone.

**Does the road to a market lie through food rationing?**

*Photo by Dmitry Borko*

## There is no easy way

Let's come now to the main thing for us. Suppose the choice has been made. How to advance along the new path? How to overcome all its difficulties which sometimes become insurmountable obstacles for us? What are the prospects?

Our situaton is the worst possible. The Soviet Union has rich natural resources and fairly well developed science and industry, especially in the military field. But, unfortunately, no other country in the world suffered from the forcible instilling of the Marxist doctrine so much as ours. That is not only tens of millions of people violently killed in the name of the "lofty" ideal and class struggle, though the figure itself cannot but stagger the imagination, but first of all those who have survived.

All of us are homi Sovietici, that is, people deformed by the inhuman system of totalitarian socialism. We are afraid of everything and are unable to do anything. We cannot answer for ourselves and our near ones. We cannot be masters of our own lives, land, property, and the fruits of our labour. We have grown accustomed to handouts

from the central authorities and to the "concern" of the party and the government for the people. We have grown accustomed to living under conditions of the guaranteed wretched minimum, that is, to be dependants. How are we to advance to a market economy? Who will reach a market economy?

We must be honest with ourselves. The elder people will not reach a market economy. Not because they will have no time, but because they will be unable to do it. Will the people, now at a mature age, be able to reach a market economy and adapt themselves to it?

These people, though not all of them, have a chance to accommodate themselves to a market economy, break the psychological stereotype, and learn to live under market conditions. Regrettably, those who are involved in the "shadow" economy, lined with the mafia, and manipulate vast sums of money on the black market have the best chances to adjust themselves to a market economy. After all, they are already smart market dealers.

Though the black market is not so much a free market as its antipode, a sort of anti-market, the following truth should be noted: the black market is a "good school" for the moulding of energetic people who can manage their affairs and adapt themselves to the rapidly changing situation, including the criminal one. They are the masters of the situation, as we have witnessed over the last few years. No wonder many people hate cooperatives. Operating under conditions of lawlessness and arbitrary rule (though laws are passed they remain on paper so far) and still regarded as the black market in many respects, most of the cooperatives are nevertheless trying to secure a free legal existence for themselves. As a rule, they achieve this goal with difficulty and at the expense of consumers. Properly speaking, this is a path from the anti-market to a market in our country. There is no, and neither can there be, another path.

The situation will not change immediately even after our peasants receive land and government aid. The new farmers will have to undergo the same trials as the cooperatives are experiencing in our days.

Time and energy will be needed for this purpose – much time and much more energy, even with the most favourable state guarantees for which a hard struggle is now being waged. That is why there can be no talk of an easy or short path, let alone easy and quick results. What are the prospects, then?

## Half-beggars with a quasi-market

Thus, our market will be a capitalist one. For a long time it will differ by its standards from the developed European capitalist market as an underdeveloped or disfigured man differs from a normal one. It is time to understand this truth. The slavish psychological legacy still lies heavy on us. We are afraid of everything, mostly the ideological heresy. However, we should no longer be afraid of the word "capitalism," the more so that classic capitalism, which was analyzed by Marx almost 150 years ago and which we usually regarded as the plague, no longer exists.

*Drawing by Victor Bogorad*

European capitalism has constantly improved, providing ever more guarantees for the weak and poor. It has been doing so not under the mythic influence or pressure of our socialist regime, as some people like to argue, but guided by the internal logic of its own development, the dynamic evolution of the prospering society.

Incidentally, if anything influenced capitalism ideologically it was not Leninist-Stalinist socialism but socialism of the social democratic type. The most humane and democratic socialism about which our President often talks is essentially (if one thinks seriously) a complete negation of Marxist socialism and, in fact, a complete merger with modern capitalism. Let us look at Sweden or Austria, where social democracy has a strong position. They have capitalism. But it is social democratic capitalism with an obvious emphasis on strengthening social guarantees for the entire population.

Will our market economy develop precisely in this way? Will it become capitalist, with a social democratic leaning? Generally speaking, it would be an ideal variant, taking all our realities into account. But let us not be too hopeful. It will take a long time to attain the Austrian and Swedish level, if we can achieve it at all. Not only the present generation but also our grandchildren. Our real future for tomorrow is therefore different.

What awaits us in the immediate future? At first, it may be a market of the Chinese-Polish type. There will be plenty of goods, primarily second-grade, in shops while the population will have little money to buy them. Such a situation is quite possible after a monetary reform. After the failure of the "500-day" scheme this reform apparently becomes unavoidable.

Massive aid from other countries can maintain a half-beggarly living standard in conditions of a quasi-market. The regulating function of the state will remain considerable at this stage. It is very important to understand what kind of function it can and must be.

I have mentioned the Chinese-Polish type of a market. It is important to note that the Chinese and Polish variants are not similar or, more exactly, the similarity is rather in form than in substance. The difference lies in the role played by the state. In China the market is, as before, strictly controlled by the state (and regulated only in special areas – enclaves of the Shenzhen type, near Hongkong). In Poland the market is regulated by the state. There is a world of difference here. In the first case we have a usual market of the oriental type, and in the second, an underdeveloped market of the European capitalist type. In the Chinese case a limited number of rights and a substantial restriction of freedoms preserve the Asian character of the market and narrow its possibilities in this way. In the Polish variant, the possibilities are unlimited because all the necessary rights, freedoms

and guarantees exist. The difficulty lies in the underdeveloped character of the market itself and the structure to which it conforms. Going further, we can say that the Chinese variant presupposes the maintenance of the old structure, on which the authorities insist, especially after the suppression of the student movement in 1989. The Polish variant presupposes a change in the structure, and the problem is how long this painful process will continue.

## Strong power plus strong democracy

Everything depends in the final analysis on how political events develop in our country. In an attempt to forecast the development of events and even influence them our political scientists I.Klyamkin and A.Migranian put forward the following thesis last year. They claim that authoritarian power is essential for the transition from totalitarianism to democracy. And it seemed they had solid reasons for such a conclusion – the examples of South Korea, Taiwan, Chile under Pinochet's rule, and a number of other countries. The list does not include developed European countries, postwar Germany and Italy among them. But let us examine the question.

As for European countries, they should obviously be left aside, because they do not confirm the need for authoritarian rule, but rather deny it. Let us turn to traditional non-European structures. As has already been said, the need for authoritarian rule in this case is proved by the example of countries where the market (let even strictly controlled in the oriental way) has always existed. In this lies the essence of the problem. When there is a market, even a controlled one, possibilities arise for a manoeuvre, for control and administration **in favour of this market** from above by authoritarian methods. In the above-mentioned and similar cases the functions of authoritarian rule have been reduced to the **emancipation of the market,** to the transformation of the oriental controlled market into the Western capitalist self-regulating one which is only slightly regulated from above in the quickest and most painless for the people and their psychology way. One can easily guess that our variant is different.

We do not have a market at all, because the black market is not counted in the given case. This means that the functions of the state cannot be reduced to the authoritarian direction of the transformation of the market. It is first necessary to build a market. A great deal has to be changed for this purpose. First of all, the conscience and behaviour of people must be emancipated. Our President understood this after the first two or three years of hapless perestroika and began a movement for democratization, the emancipation of the thinking, psychology and behaviour of people. With a market still lacking, it was the only correct and possible solution to the problem. Only in a democratic and emancipated society can prerequisites be created for a market, for emancipation of at least a part of the black market from the mafia-controlled structures. Is it reasonable for the President to set his sights on authoritarian rule?

The country urgently needed the degree of imbalance it has now reached and which both the right and the left energetically condemn as the greatest evil of perestroika. It is time to understand that **there was no other way.** However, the situation is changing now.

The situation is already different, and the country will not endure a greater imbalance.

The only correct way for us today and in the future is the combination of strong Union and republican power with even stronger democracy. Only this way can give an impulse to further privatization, the shaping of a free capitalist market and a skilful regulation of the process of the transition to the market and private ownership. It is our only chance.

# Two types of market – the European and the oriental

Two entirely different social, political and economic structures – the Asian command-administrative and the European market based on private ownership – took shape in the world long ago. One is a state of subjects and the other a society of citizens.

The two structures are two types of market. One is sometimes a prosperous market, like the famous oriental one, but always fully dependent on authority. The other is a free market of owners protected by the law and necessary guarantees.

The European market has always been a dynamic self-regulating system, the nucleus of constantly expanding reproduction. It has stimulated the vigorous growth of the economy and has invariably improved together with it. Having gone through the stage of economic decline during the fall of the Roman Empire and in the early Middle Ages, it revived in the form of European cities, merchant republics of the type of Genoa and Venice, provided the basis for Renaissance and, after the Protestant church Reformation, for European capitalism.

The situation was different outside Europe. In other parts of the world, the market has always been conservative in its character, deprived of the potential for an energetic internal transformation, fit only for the simple reproduction of the economic and other structures. For this reason it could engender only the traditional, Asian mode of production and could not lay the basis for transformation on its own.

The invasion of European colonial capital began to change the situation in this sense in other parts of the world. Colonies – branches of Europe in the full sense of the word – appeared in the regions to which Europeans, being in the majority there, brought their civilization and mode of production (Canada, the United States and Australia are examples of this).

A different situation took shape in the regions where Europeans were in the minority, or where there were few Europeans in general. In colonial, dependent East, European culture and the European market proved the dynamic nucleus of radical, though slow, socio-economic, political, cultural and other changes. The essence of these changes lay in the transformation of the Asian structure and maket towards Europeanization and Westernization.

The breaking of the oriental structure and market by European capitalism and the colonial-capitalist market made possible transformation the Japanese way. This transformation passed two important stages. In Japan they were the Meiji restoration in 1868 and the defeat in the war in 1945.

In another case well known in our days, capitalist development was achieved with the help of petrodollars and foreign manpower. A good illustration of this development is provided by the oil-rich Arab emirates in the Persian Gulf.

**L.V.**

PERSIAN GULF

# Too long for a blitzkrieg

Herbert WULF of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute and Alexander Polyukhov of *New Times* discuss the possible consequences of the Gulf war.

**New Times.** The military defeat of Iraq is imminent, but will peace return to the region after Saddam Husseln's regime?

**Herbert Wulf.** The situation will change for the better. Earlier conflicts in the region used to be aggravated by the East-West confrontation. Under these new conditions the local hotheads will not be able to proceed with buildups of their arsenals, capitalizing on Soviet-American differences.

The anti-Hussein alliance may generate a postwar unity that is necessary if the UN role is to grow and a comprehensive peace conference to be held in the region. Suoh a conference, though, will not be possible if the United States does not want or is not able to persuade Israel to participate. The conference will not be able to sovle all problems at once, but it can create a framework for a parallel settlement of a number of problems. Israel's safe existence, the rights of Palestinians, even Iraq's territorial claims to Kuwait – these and many other problems must be discussed in a most serious manner.

**N.T.** Another scenario is also possible, however: the coalition may disintegrate and after the Iraqi threat is removed, its participants will confine themselves to their own national interests.

**H.W.** I believe that great powers, which are responsible for preservation of international peace, will act jointly. Middle Eastern states tend to be more pragmatic in their approaches to joint actions. Most likely some of them will try to destroy the coalition, especially if Israel returns to its old policies. The result will be a new round in the arms race, a return to reliance on national armed forces, although the war in the Gulf has already demonstrated that this apporoach is fallacious.

**The plans of a blitzkrieg against Saddam have been aborted, but the results of the war are obvious. What will the world be like after the fall of the Iraqi regime?**

**N.T.** Baghdad's ambitions for regional dominance are crumbling, but some other country may fill the power vacuum...

**H.W.** The strategic vacuum will certainly appear if the political settlement is aborted. Iran, Syria and some other nations will be tempted to make their own ambitions a reality. Religious, political and other reasons will be easily found: after all, ambitions are based on real military potentials created with the help of both the West and the East. However, I am optimistic: confrontation, let alone war, will not become of such a scale as it is today if the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, which are also the world's five top arms exporters, continue to cooperate. The lesson of Iraq tells us that potential aggressors must not have access to the

Placards of this kind abound in Baghdad. So far the dictator has been choosing his targets in Israel and Saudi Arabia

instruments of war. One hopes that the leaders of the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France and China will learn their lesson.

**N.T.** You have mentioned Iran and Syria. What can you say about Saudi Arabia and Gulf sheikhdoms? What do you think their future will be after the defeat of Iraq?

**H.W.** They will feel more confident militarily, but one must not forget that their armed forces are unable to dominate in the region. In fact, these countries do not have enough soldiers to man strong armies. State-of-the-art weapons, which have been stockpiled in the Arabian peninsula, cannot guarantee security to their owners. These weapons can function only when operated by foreign officers and technicians. Once foreign specialists are recalled, such advanced weapons as Patriot anti-missile missiles or AWACS planes will be paralyzed.

The feudal regime in Kuwait will have to go. Saudi Arabia will have to contemplate the possibilities of a political reform. Otherwise both countries will remain under foreign influence or even control.

**N.T.** Too many weapons in the region destabilize the Middle East, unstable as it is. After the war, the situation will not change by itself. Is there any way to change it?

**H.W.** The earlier experience of efforts to limit the flow of arms into a concrete region does not inspire any optimism, but today prospects are good for such efforts to succeed. The states of the region could convene for a peace conference and agree to

quantitative limitations of their arms imports. In their turn, the exporting countries should impose qualitative restrictions on the weapons they sell, especially on ballistic and long-range cruise missiles. Transfer of technologies used to build weapons of mass destruction must be banned.

**N.T.** This is a good idea, but how do you think it could be implemented? The region is infected with fear and suspicion and there is much cynicism in the attitude of regional governments to the superpower efforts.

**H.W.** That is why the initiative and the control functions must belong to the UN. The authority of this organization has grown significantly and its efficiency is much greater, although it was unable to find a peaceful solution to the Gulf crisis. The potential aggressor who will come next will have to be pacified without war. That is why the UN must take an active part in regional affairs in peacetime as well.

**N.T.** It is believed that "bugs" implanted in electronic parts of advanced weapons could be used to neutralize such weapons if they fall into the wrong hands...

**H.W.** The French have already hinted that French weapons purchased by Iraq had been bugged and can be crippled by special signals. I do not really think the problem is so simple. At the same time, there is no doubt that the French know all the weak and strong points of the weapons they produce and can take countermeasures, preventing effective Iraqi employment of such weapons. Supposing the Americans know the characteristics of Soviet-made Scud missiles fired by Iraq, it is easy to explain why the Scuds were so effectively destroyed by Patriots.

There are other methods to contain impulsive leaders who have stockpiled too many weapons. For example, the exporter may limit the amount of spare parts delivered in one consignment: the purchaser can fight for a month using up reserves of spare parts and then has to ask for spare parts again. It is up to the exporter to decide whether deliveries of spare parts could continue and military experts should be sent to the country.

**N.T.** The problem of nuclear arms will inevitably be brought up when the talks on collective arms limitations begin. Israel has already developed a nuclear potential and a missile fleet, but the Arabs do not yet seem to have done so.

**H.W.** The Arab countries' desire to obtain nuclear and chemical weapons is a reaction to Israel's nuclear potential. It seems, though, that the Israeli nuclear bomb exists only in the form of parts ready for assembly. This allows the Israeli government to deny possession of nuclear weapons. Nonetheless the Israeli nuclear weapons can be assembled and used pretty fast.

The Arabs will start demanding that Israel dismantle its nuclear capability, and Tel Aviv will start avoiding the issue. I cannot say how this problem will be settled, but it is clear that if there is no peaceful settlement, nuclear proliferation in the region cannot be avoided.

**N.T.** It is feared in the USSR and other countries that the United States may refuse to withdraw from the Middle East after the operations against Iraq are over. Washington is sending out contradictory signals on this score.

**H.W.** I believe that the United States will keep some manpower and materiel in the region despite strong opposition. The prospect that US troops may be replaced by inter-Arab forces is not realistic. Contradictions between potential allies are too strong and Israel would never agree to this option. To replace the Americans with a UN peace-keeping force which would be acceptable for all sides involved might be a better idea. This problem too will be on the agenda of the regional peace conference.

**N.T.** Do you agree that the Iraqi annexation of Kuwait is the beginning of inter-Arab wars and the coalition's operations against Iraq, the beginning of wars between the North and the South?

**H.W.** The first supposition is by no means groundless: Arab states which made a number of attempts to create an integral Arab nation have already fought against each other, Libya and Egypt, the Yemens... There is always a pretext: differences in the interpretation of the Koran, border disputes, contradictions between richer and poorer states, different attitudes to non-Arab Muslims... Characteristically, no attempt has ever been made to start undoing the numerous knots. I do not think that the Middle East will be able to settle the multifaceted problem of pan-Arab unity alone that is, without the help of an international conference.

As for the wars between the North and the South, this war is not the happiest example. One should not forget that the crisis began with a regional conflict. Naturally, the United States and its Western allies bear the bulk of both the military and the financial burden, but troops from the North arrived there on the invitation from the South: Kuwait and Saudi Arabia appealed to the United States for help.

**N.T.** A few words about the cost of the war. The information on this score is very incoherent, but it is clear that the United States will have to spend billions. Will Washington be ready to get involved in another costly conflict to save an ally? Some people believe that the White House is trying to rescue the US military budget, threatened by prospects of lasting international peace and European disarmament.

**H.W.** No calculation of the cost of war is possible yet. The daily cost of combat is estimated at 0.5 to 2 billion dollars. It is not clear whether the figure means additional allocations or the cost of routine maintenance of US troops. I would like to add that the US military budget amounts to 1 billion dollars a day, be there war or peace. Washington is trying to make its allies pay at least a part of the expenses. Saudi Arabia and Japan have already contributed billions.

The operations in the Gulf are greatly to the benefit of the industries producing missiles and artillery rounds, which are being spent in the Gulf in tremendous quantities. Other defence industries should not expect a boom, because the world tendency towards a reduction of arms procurements remains. On January 7, a week before the Gulf war began, the US government drooped one of the biggest military programmes – procurements of A-12 bombers for the US Navy. As a result, 7,000 jobs will have to go.

**N.T.** Is this a sign that the United States does not want to act as a "global policeman" under the conditions of the USSR having lost its superpower status?

**H.W.** The amazing unanimity which has been displayed at the United Nations has made the United States willing to act jointly with other permanent members of the UN Security Council in future as well. If the UN uses the current situation to increase its influence in the world, no power will be able to act as a "global policeman."

The UN Charter allows the establishment of international peace-keeping forces and such forces should be made an instrument of collective security. Regional forces, no matter whether they are made up of Arab or NATO troops, are a less effective option. No country or bloc should be allowed to dominate in the UN forces or to control such forces. The UN Military Staff Committee must be transformed into a centre planning and controlling peace-keeping operations.

STOCKHOLM

# IAEA keeps silent

## Echoes of the Gulf war on the banks of the Danube

Law-enforcement agencies have been alerted across Austria. Special anti-terrorist teams are guarding government offices, industrial enterprises, offices of international organizations, embassies and missions round the clock. The traditional Opera Ball scheduled for February 7 and a number of other entertainments staged in Austria each year at the end of the winter have been cancelled.

The securtity system is working. Several days ago the Austrian police arrested 11 Arabs of Iraqi descent. According to preliminary information, the arrested Arabs were members of a terrorist group which had planned attacks against Austria-based American, British and Israeli installations. At the same time, information was leaked to the press that these claims were groundless.

The war in the Gulf highlighted the problem of Austria's neutrality. The Austrian National Council, the lower chamber of the Austrian parliament, had to promptly adopt amendments to the law on arms exports, which prohibited transportation of military goods to conflict areas through Austrian territory or airspace. A recent amendment, however, has brought the law into conformity with the demands of the day, allowing such transportation if it is in line with UN Security Council resolutions.

Germany-based US military planes used to take the shortest route to the Middle East – via Austrian airspace. Usually, the Austrian authorities were informed that the US planes carried "mail, books, newspapers, stationery and personal hygiene articles," and the Austrians never objected. Now such formal explanations are unnecessary.

The authorities have sanctioned the medical service to start preparing one thousand hospital beds to accomodate war victims. About 200 representatives of the Austrian Red Cross are prepared to fly over to the conflict area to render urgent aid any time.

The Vienna headquarters of the International Atomic Energy Agency is under virtual siege. Austria and foreign journalists are flocking to the IAEA HQ trying to get as much information as possible about the condition of Iraqi nuclear facilities (Iraq is a IAEA member). All attempts to speak to Hans Blix, Director-

Allied troops try on gas masks while Baghdad threatens to use CW

General of the IAEA or his deputies have failed: the IAEA officials hold their peace. The IAEA spokesman, Hans-Friedrich Meyer is not very talkative either. Nonetheless, I managed to ask him some questions. Is there a danger of a radio-active fallout in Baghdad (the Iraqi nuclear centre is situated in just thirty kilometres from the capital), considering President Bush's statement that the Iraqi nuclear potential was destroyed? Mr Meyer believed that even a direct hit on the Iraqi nuclear reactor could hardly produce any serious radiation threat. There is no reason to fear another Chernobyl, because both Iraqi nuclear facilities – one supplied by the Soviet Union and the other by France – are 200 times less powerful than the Chernobyl reactor. There is almost no doubt that the two reactors had been shut down before the war began. Besides, they are situated in a sparsely populated area. That is why the destruction of these facilities would have only local consequences.

When asked whether the IAEA had any information about the condition of the Iraqi nuclear reactors after the war began, Mr Meyer answered in the negative. The IAEA has had no information from Iraq since the on-site inspection late last year. As for the Iraqi side, it has not turned for either help or advice recently.

Ecological warfare has begun

*Anatoly Kovrigin,*
our own correspondent
VIENNA

# Fight on to the final victory

## – this is what most Americans say

A recent opinion poll sponsored by the *Wall Street Journal* and NBC indicates that three out of four Americans over 21 approve of President Bush's policy, especially his decision to start combat operations against Iraq. Most pollees (about 87 percent) believe the framework of the UN Security Council resolution must be extended and the United States' objectives must not be confined to the liberation of Kuwait, but must also include destruction of the Iraqi military might. 73 percent of the pollees believe Saddam Hussein must be arrested or physically destroyed.

Commenting on the bellicose sentiments of the Americans, the *Wall Street Journal* noted that they were not exclusively based on the good news about the initially successful allied air raids against Iraq. It is becoming clear that plans for a blitzkrieg have been aborted, and the Americans now fear a long war which will inevitably result in a heavy loss of human life and in terrorist attacks at home.

The only way out, the Americans believe, is to defeat Iraq, and the sooner the better.

This opinion is shared by most, but not all Americans. In the same poll only 56 percent spoke up for war and 38 percent believed the Kuwaiti problem should be resolved by negotiations.

"Basically, the poll gives a realistic picture of the division of American society," believes a representative of the Coalition to Stop US Intervention in the Middle East, "however, the number of advocates of a peaceful settlement will grow with the escalation of combat."

The coalition was set up last August. Several hundred activists assembled at one of the coalition's rallies in September last year. On January 19, 35,000 to 45,000 people from across the United States came to the White House responding to the coalition's call. The blacks and Hispanics are now a serious force in America's anti-war movement, because, insists the coalition, almost half the troops dispatched to the Gulf, especially the ground forces, which will suffer the heaviest casualties, is made up of blacks and Hispanics (the Pentagon statistics say that blacks and Hispanics make up one fourth of the contingent arrayed against Saddam, including the Air Force and Navy).

Jesse Jackson, a prominent Democratic Party figure and leader of the coalition Rainbow, has also spoken up in support of anti-war sentiments warning the Americans that the war may aggravate racial differences in the country and frictions between the rich and poor sectors of US society.

Anti-war cries are currently unpopular in the United States. The press are accusing anti-war activists of being unpatriotic.

It is still far from the Vietnam syndrome that split American society in its time. So far most Americans support the war, its objectives and its methods. But it is a fact that a handful of anti-war activists already have a following of thousands of Americans.

The voice of the anti-war movement is growing louder and the bellicose chorus can drown it no longer.

*Evgeny Andrianov,*
our own correspondent
NEW YORK

# A chance for Saddam?

*Galina Sidorova,*
*New Times*
political analyst

**The Iraqi leader plays on humanity**

Saddam does have a superweapon and it is not top secret. This weapon is humanity, or rather playing on the sense of aversion to war and killing, on humanistic principles advocated by all normal people and politicians in democratic societies, all people who, unlike Saddam, cannot stand the sight of their own compatriots and Iraqis being killed.

This may easily be a reason behind Iraq's "phony war" in the early weeks of combat operations in the Gulf. Saddam has been unhurriedly firing Scuds on Tel Aviv, hoping that Israel would join the war, and made virtually no response to massive air raids by the allied air force. As if inviting the allies to bomb more of the Iraqi territory, Saddam manoeuvered dummy tanks and launchers, and even real tanks and launchers of which he has a lot. Saddam Hussein watches the reaction to his actions from his superbunker and waits: either the Americans start a ground offensive and too many victims will generate massive anti-war protests in US society, or the world community softens its resolve to punish Iraq when it sees thousands of Iraqis killed during the air raids. It seems that the hopes Saddam pins on the latter factor are not at all groundless. Some leaders are already insisting on a ceasefire, feverishly probing for compromises to offer Saddam, who will benefit from any move the international community makes to meet him. Saddam hopes that once the combat operations are stopped, he may be able to keep Kuwait and avoid responsibility for the aggression. The evil has found a way to make fun of the good.

A curtain of fire and abstract humanity has already fell over the root causes of the conflict: it was Iraq that annexed the sovereign Arab state, Kuwait, and committed genocide against the people of Kuwait. The Americans are being accused of using excessive force under the pretext of destroying the Iraqi military potential; it is claimed that the coalition's actions exceed the framework of US Security Council Resolution 678. It must be recalled, however, that Resolution 678 mandated all member states of the Security Council cooperating with Kuwait to use all means to liberate Kuwait after January 15 and gave Saddam a month to withdraw from that country thus avoiding war.

In the early days of the war some of my Moscow interlocutors said Iraq would prove too big for the US to swallow. A colleague from an Arab newspaper asked me: "Why do you want to be involved in this? It is the Americans' business, the Americans' problem and the Americans' interest: let the Americans fight if they want to..."

Developments in the Persian Gulf, the Iraqi leader's acts of ecological and other terrorism demonstrate that the world can no longer be seen as divided on religious, geographic or national grounds: there are no exclusively Muslim problems, or Christian problems, or internal Arab matters or purely European interests.

Iraq's close neighbour, the Soviet Union is even more interested in stopping the aggressor before he obtained advanced devastating weapons than the United States. Contrary to the assertions of isolationists, the war in the Gulf is also our war. American, British, Saudi, Canadian, Polish, Czech troops, representatives of 28 states whose forces are arrayed in the Gulf, are fighting not only for the interests of their countries, but also for our own peace and wellbeing.

The Soviet Union is largely responsible for what is happening in the region. This country was instrumental in building the Iraqi military machine. Moscow's political and economic support encouraged the Iraqi regime's transformation into the monster it is today. Actually, inflatable dummy tanks made in Turkey and Italy have proved to be more useful for Saddam than Soviet-built Scud missiles, but this is a poor consolation. Other countries may now be more reluctant to buy Soviet-made weapons and this will hopefully reduce the appetites of the Soviet military-industrial complex. Commercial profit derived from arms exports is no price for the instability the exported weapons create across the world. By the way, Saddam Hussein will cost the world approximately 200 billion dollars (counting in the cost of the military operations in the Gulf, the damage inflicted on Kuwait, the losses suffered by the countries which import oil from the region, the means spent by the Iraqi regime and the consequences of the ecological disaster).

Some Moscow-based Saddam sympathizers are also trying to play on humanity: those who from the outset have resisted the official Soviet policy in the crisis and tried to talk this country's leadership into offering concessions to Baghdad. These attempts have failed, but have not gone unnoticed in Iraq. Confused signals from Moscow which might have given some hope for Saddam that Kuwaiti interests could be sacrificed, have played their role. Until the very last moment the Iraqi leader hoped that the international coalition would not go to war and stubbornly refused to leave Kuwait alone. The impression is that some of those who advocate the reconciliatory approach to Saddam are longing for a dictatorship at home. They are trying to send new signals to Saddam and this may aggravate the situation further.

Saddam's irrational acts – the discharge of oil into the Gulf, using captured pilots as a living shield to protect Iraqi military installations, terrorist attacks in various countries – have demonstrated that the world community chose the only correct way to fight the aggressor and the criminal: complete irreconcilability. Unfortunately, this option will entail losses. But if resolute measures are not taken today, tomorrow the losses may be much greater.

Now that Iraq has unleashed an unprecedented ecological warfare, the Security Council should revise the problem in a broader context. It would be insufficient to liberate Kuwait now. Saddam Hussein must answer for what he has done at a world tribunal, and the Security Council should start working out a mechanism of international control to be exercised over the post-Saddam Iraq for some time, something like the allies' control over Germany after WW2. ■

# Making up with a former enemy

**Fifteen years have passed since that April, 1975, day when the final American helicopter whisked away the last American ambassador in Saigon, Graham A.Martin. At holdiay time, the skies above Hanoi are decorated with the flags of numerous embassies. Only the "flag of many flowers" (as the Vietnamese refer to the US flag) is missing**

Jimmy Carter proposed as early as during the presidential campaign that he intended to push for a normalization of relations with Vietnam. In essence, he wanted to be the president who closed the unfortunate Vietnam Chapter in American history. It was during the Carter administration that Vietnam-bound ships and aircraft were allowed to travel to Vietnam as well as send letters and packages there.

In May-June of 1977, US-Vietnamese negotiations began on the normalization of relations between the two countries. The US dropped its objection to Vietnam's entry into the UN and a month later Vietnam became a full-fledged member of the United Nations. It was at that time that the US delegation proposed resuming full diplomatic ties with Hanoi. However, Vietnam demanded a preliminary payment in the form of economic aid as compensation for the "war wounds" it suffered. A figure in the billions was named and negotiations were subsequently dragged out.

In summer of 1978 events occured which lessened the interest of Americans in seeing an improvement in relations with Vietnam. A sharp confrontation had split China and Vietnam, once bosom buddies in the struggle against American imperialism. In the meantime, the US was getting ready to open an embassy in Beijing, gambling on the strategic value of diplomatic relations with China. Vietnam, which traditionally supported a balance between Moscow and Beijing, in response to the opening of the new American embassy signed a Treaty of Freidnship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union in November 1978 and joined COMECON. And when in December 1978 Vietnamese troops entered Cambodia, the leading countries of the West erected an economic blocade of Vietnam and the Cambodian issue hindered US-Vietnamese contacts for some time.

## Have all POWs returned?

The main sticking point for the US, however, is the return to the US of the remains of soldiers killed in Vietnam and obtaining of complete information on the fates of MIA's and still imprisoned American POWs. Many in the US are convinced that the Vietnamese are still holding US POWs and demand that the US government take whatever steps necessary to find them and bring them home. Vietnamese officials categorically deny that there are any Americans left in Vietnam, but in Washington the official figure of MIAs still numbers around 1700.

In January of 1987, Ronald Regan appointed former Chief of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General John Vessey, his representative in charge of the programme designed to learn more of the fates of American MIAs in Vietnam. Vessey's mission quickly brought results and in August, both sides signed an agreement on mutual assistance in finding solutions to humanitarian issues. However, Washington announced that it intended to limit such aid to help for private organizations which would be of a practical nature. Hanoi insisted that the aid be of an official, government nature.

In June, 1990, Vice-President Dan Quayle, speaking at a congress of the National League of the Families of American POWs and MIAs in South East Asia, announced that the American administration intended to consider a solution to the POW issue a "national priority." This may seem to Hanoi unusual and impractical, but in any case, the process of normalization of relations with the US will come about only once Americans are convinced that there are no Americans left in Vietnamese camps.

## Free political prisoners and...

One other issue which puts a damper on rapprochement between Washington and Hanoi is the issue of human rights. In 1986, the US State Department prepared for Congress a report entitled "On human rights violations in Vietnam" which caused great irritation in Hanoi.

What interests Americans more than anything is the fate of people of Amerasian descent living in Vietnam. In Vietnam, more than 14 thousand children of American servicemen have come of age – yet another heritage of the Vietnam War. After the fall of South Vietnam, such people became unwanted persons by Hanoi. The hatred of Yankee imperialists spilled over onto those who possessed American blood. Americans are aware of some special concentration camps in Vietnam where not only American children are kept, but also their mothers, other family members and others accused of aiding American aggression. It was enough simply to have an American father to be labelled for life as a third-rate human being with all the disadvantages so entailed.

**Locked up in cages. This is how US veterans of the Vietnam War are demanding that their former comrads-in-arms be freed from Vietnamese prisons. In Washington the list of American servicemen still missing in Vietnam numbers 1,700** *Photo by Lev Yelin*

Last year, principle agreement was reached between the US and Vietnam on the establishment of a Centre of American Children in Ho Chi Minh City, the purpose being granting children of mixed marriages with US citizens and their families (in fact many of them already have their own children) the ability to leave the country.

Many former service personnel of the Saigon regime are also to be found in the camps. The overall total of American "helpers" persecuted by Vietnam runs to some 500,000 persons. All of them are thus potential emigrants. In 1979 a programme of organized exit was agreed to. However, until 1987 the programme was not carried out and only an agreement signed after seven years of negotiation allowed the process of leaving for the US to be simplified starting last summer. These people mix right in with the Vietnamese comunity in the US which numbers some 750,000 and has considerable influence in certain regions of the US. In California and several other states, there are newspapers published in Vietnamese. There has also been established the National Congress of Vietnamese in America.

Not all Americans of Vietnamese descent agree on what the relationship of the United States towards Vietnam should be. Some call for political ostracism and economic isolation of Vietnam in order "to bring Hanoi to its knees." However, the majority of Vietnamese Americans believe in the evitability of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. And businessmen are testing the waters, attempting to determine whether it is possible to set up business contacts with their former homeland. And there are those who see a normalization in relations with the US as bringing about a change for the better in Vietnam. In any case, the opinion of the Vietnamese community is listened to in Washington.

It is hard to say how things will proceed in the future, but it is hard to believe that the US position on human rights will change, especially considering the impressive list of demands compiled by it: the freeing of all political prisoners, the cessation of physical torture and of psychological influence, no more detention of persons without trial, elimination of the reeducation camps, the creation of an independent court system, revoking of laws outlawing opposition activities, loosening of emigration controls, freedom of religion, etc.

## Everything depends on Cambodia

The guilty complex for the Vietnam War disappeared in December 1978 when Hanoi, "on request from the Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation" sent troops into Cambodia. Hanoi underlined that the reason for the introduction of its troops there was the genocide launched by the supporters of Pol Pot against their own people. According to official Cambodian figures, in the course of just over three years, the Khmer Rouge killed up to three million citizens of that country. It is difficult to say whether the international community was prepared to take measures against the Khmer Rouge, but the possibility that, were it not for decisive actions of Vietnam, Pol Pot would still be in power cannot be dismissed entirely.

Vietnam would not have been accused of engaging in regional hegemony had it, in sweeping out the Pol Pot regime, requested international aid for Pnom Pen and expressed a willingness to leave Cambodia. However, Vietnamese forces remained in Cambodia and, like Soviet forces in Afghanistan, were drawn into an extensive, unwinnable conflict with the Khmer Rouge.

Vietnam, having won the olive wreath of the victor in the US-Vietnam war,lost much from its invasion of Cambodia both in the material and moral sense. The Soviet-Vietnamese treaty to a

certain extent prevented the isolation of Vietnam, but it could not fully compensate, either in the political or economic sense for the loss suffered due to the lack of relations between with the US, China, Japan, the ASEAN countries and international financial institutions.

Washington's position is that there must be a full and verifiable withdrawal of Vietnamese forces from Cambodia, effective measures must be taken to prevent a return to power of the Khmer Rouge, genuine Cambodia's self-determination by means of free and fair elections under UN auspices.

When in September 1989 Hanoi announced that the last Vietnamese soldier had left Cambodia, the United States expressed its doubts as to the veracity of this claim. Without any international controls, it is impossible to dismiss completely rumours that there are still Vietnamese soldiers left in Cambodia.

## Anyone but the Khmer Rouge

In Paris this June, US Secretary of State James Baker announced that the US was prepared to enter into negotiations with Vietnam to discuss "joint steps to be taken to prevent the return to power of the Khmer Rouge." The US said that it would no longer recognize the three-sided coalition headed by Norodom Sihanouk, one of the members of which is the Khmer Rouge, as a representative to the United Nations.

In the US, people are more and more coming to realize that by aiding the "non-communist resistance" forces of Sihanouk and Son Sann, they are at the same time aiding the Khmer rouge. Sihanouk himself admitted that a part of the aid, including part of the military supplies sent by the United States, falls into the hands of the Khmer Rouge. Naturally, the US not at the present time planning to cease its traditional aid to the coalition, but it is demanding of its Vietnamese allies a complete military break with the Khmer Rouge.

In September, for the first time since 1975, there was a meeting in the UN of the heads of the two foreign policy departments. US Secretary of State, James Baker, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam, Nguyen Co Thach, agreed that Vietnam would find the American MIAs and that the US would render Vietnam humanitarian assistance. Parallel with the political regulation of the situation in Cambodia, there should be found a road to a normalization in US-Vietnamese relations. Just earlier the Bush administration evidently in accordance with the Trading With the Enemy Act dating back to 1917, extended the economic embargo of Vietnam for another year.

A month later, for the first time since the Vietnam War, the Vietnamese Minister of Foreign Affairs visited Washington. And the State Department made an exception for him, allowing him to travel without restriction (earlier Vietnamese delegations were not allowed to travel more than 25 miles from UN headquarters. In October, the US offered to send to Hanoi its own permanent representative to help coordinate the efforts to locate missing US servicemen. Vietnam accepted the proposal. Thus soon the first official representation of the US government on Vietnam soil since the war will be opened. Earlier several American representatives had travelled to Vietnam temporarily to Ho Chi Minh City to arrange for the immigration to the US of former officials in the Saigon army and children of Americans.

A normalization in relations between Vietnam and the United States would put an end to a tragic phase in the history of the two countries. A normalization would make much easier the regulation of mutual financial-economic claims – from the assets of the former Saigon regime now frozen in the US to the compensation of American entrepreneurs who suffered a loss following the fall of South Vietnam and the creation of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, losses estimated at around 99 million dollars.

Attracted by the new development programme and new legal code of Vietnam which liberalized investment procedures in the Vietnamese economy, approximately 200 investors from various countries have established trade and economic ties with Vietnam, hoping to generate profits processing Vietnamese natural resources and utilizing cheap Vietnamese labour, thus helping Vietnam move towards a market economy. In 1989 total foreign investment reached 1.3 billion dollars.

More and more American businessmen are trying to persuade the administration to take a new approach to Vietnam. The president of the Tailand branch of the American chamber of commerce for example is convinced that the economic embargo of Vietnam has long since lost the impact it once had and that it results in enormous economic losses to American trade in the Asian-Pacific region.

Support for the former policy towards Vietnam is losing way in Congress. In October, Senator John McCain outlined his "general ideas on steps towards a normalization in diplomatic and economic relations." And in December a group of Democratic and Republican senators wrote a letter to President Bush in which they called for a lifting of the embargo on non-strategic goods and proposed a series of other measures be taken towards effecting a normalization of US-Vietnamese relations.

Hanoi always liked to explain the reluctance of the United States to work towards a normalization in relations by an "inferiority complex" among Americans resulting from the fact that the Vietnam War was the only war America ever lost. There is even a joke going around that it would be good for Vietnam to declare war on the US and then surrender so as to free America from its Vietnam syndrome.

*Natalya Tatarinova*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# The Honecker affair

## Why are the Soviet authorities sheltering the former East German leader from German justice?

The news that an arrest warrant was issued in his name reached Erich Honecker when he relaxed watching TV news in his suite at the Soviet military hospital, in Beelitz, near Potsdam, where he and his wife moved in April last year. Officers from the Berlin Procurator's Office, however, could not hand this important document directly to the addressee or actually arrest Honecker: until the final withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Germany the territory of the Soviet military hospital remains its privilege of exterritoriality. That is why the arrest warrant was delivered to representatives of the Soviet Military Command, Western Troops Group, posted in Wündsdorf. In response the Soviet officers explained that the former East German leader's condition had suddenly worsened, he had developed high blood pressure and had to be transferred to the intensive therapy unit. The Soviet officers thought it was not humane to imprison anyone in Honecker's condition. It must be noted that Honecker's deteriorating health does not prevent him from accepting friends and taking regular strolls across the hospital's huge park. Aware of how delicate the situation was, the German law-enforcers suggested, with little chance of success, that perhaps the patient be examined by an independent Berlin doctor. As should have been expected, the Soviet reaction was negative.

The official authorities in Bonn were no more successful. The Federal Government instructed the Soviet Ambassador in Bonn, Vladislav Terekhov, to convey to Moscow the official request that the former Chairman of the GDR State Council, former General Secretary of the SED Central Committee be handed over to the German justice. Rumours have it that Moscow promised to give the problem some top-level attention, but the Honecker affair was soon overshadowed by the Persian Gulf war and dramatic developments in the Baltics. The problem remains, however, and the German law enforcers and the public will sooner or later return to it.

What is Honecker accused of? Ever before October 3 last year when Germany became a united state, the German press carried sensational materials about the Honecker clan's suppression of dissent, human rights violations, villas, hunting lodges, special shops, special medical care and other attributes of "real socialism." The SED regime may have been repulsive and hypocritical, but all the accusations levelled at it had no juridical force, because there was no crime. The situation with Erich Honecker reminded one of the case of the famous mafioso, Al Capone: everybody knew that he was a murderer, but the only charge that was proved in court was failure to pay taxes. The Honecker affair is similar: everybody knows that all the violations in East Germany were perpetrated with the consent and knowledge of the leader but the political responsibility and criminal one are different things.

In case with Erich Honecker, the German Procurator's Office centred its efforts on looking for graphic evidence confirming that it was Honecker who ordered East German border guards to shoot on all those trying to illegally leave the "first workers' and peasants' state on the German soil." The border violators were shot like hares in a hunting spree. This was a grave violation of a number of international treaties, including the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which was ratified by East Germany in 1976.

Seventy eight people were killed in Berlin since the construction of the Wall and 123 more people were killed while crossing the border between the two German states elsewhere. It is obvious that Honecker and his entourage had been behind the killings. Honecker himself does not deny the facts. Nonetheless, the Berlin Procurator's Office had to find an official document signed by Honecker and ordering troops to fire on border violators.

The document was found in the military archives at Straussberg near Berlin. It is the protocol of a sitting of the National Defence Council which Honecker headed since 1971. The protocol says that on May 3, 1974, Honecker ordered "to use firearms mercilessly against border violators and to encourage those comrades who employ firearms effectively." (in other words, the border guards who shot people dead without missing were to be awarded). Besides, the investigators unearthed earlier evidence that Honecker ordered to shoot on violators as early as September 20, 1961, a month after the Berlin Wall was erected.

These documents served as the grounds for the issue of the arrest warrant.

Is there enough evidence for a trial? Lawyers' opinions differ. The main problem is that according to the unification treaty people who have committed crimes on the GDR territory are to be tried according to the laws of the GDR. In the Honecker case the court will have proceed from East German laws. Ironically, it is necessary to prove that the East German leaders violated East German laws they had adopted themselves.

Professor Rupert Scholz, a prominent lawyer, believes there are all the necessary prerequisites for bringing criminal charges against Honecker and trying him, because the Criminal Code of the GDR stipulates criminal liability for murder and inciting to murder, including murder committed on the border. The problem is not as simple as it seems, though. In 1982, East Germany adopted a law regulating the border regime and allowing the guards to open fire on the violators. In his turn, Honecker, who had been behind the 1982 law, is now accused of having provoked the killing of four people who were shot on the border from 1983 to 1989, that is after the 1982 law

came into force. Another expert, Prof. Grünwald, also points to this circumstance. He believes that "a soldier who acted within the framework of this law is as protected by the East German law as those who had passed it."

"The Federal Court," sums up *Der Spiegel*, "will find it difficult to pass a just verdict proceeding from the laws it will have to recover from under the ruins of the lawless system." West German justice, however, knows one similar precedent: the Nuremberg trial of Nazi war criminals worked out a formula: what used to be lawful may later be punishable as a violation of law.

Honecker's lawyer, Friedrich Wolf, never refers to this precedent, of course, and gives a negative answer any time when asked whether his client could be "punished for having carried out the laws of East Germany." This opinion is shared by representatives of Soviet authorities and they cite it when explaining the reasons of their unwillingness to hand Honecker over to German justice.

Are Soviet representatives the ones to pass the verdict of guilty or not guilty on Honecker? Honecker's guilt or innocence can not be a subject of debate between Soviet and German politicians and diplomats: the court alone has the right to pass the juridical verdict. If Moscow does not want to see Honecker convicted, it may as well hire experienced lawyers who would acquit the devil if they are offered good money, but Moscow should by no means be obstructing the efforts of the German Procurator's Office, thus putting both the German and the Soviet side in a rather ambiguous position.

Besides, from the point of view of international law, and in line with the Two Plus Four accords and bilateral Soviet-German documents, the Soviet occupation rights in Germany terminate immediately after Germany acquires full sovereignty and the privilege of exterritoriality of the Soviet Western Troops Group belongs only to Soviet citizens. The German living in the Federal Republic, including its new states which used to be the GDR, are subjects of the federal laws, which means that as a citizen of the Federal Republic, Erich Honecker, has no right to evade German justice.

If so, why are the Soviet authorities so reluctant to hand Honecker over to German justice? The motives involved are political rather than legal. Moscow fears it may be involved in the Honecker trial: after all it is difficult to believe that former leaders of East Germany – Moscow's staunchest and most reliable ally – could have shot people by the Berlin Wall at their own risk, without at least informing the Big Brother. A trial could throw light on the role some high-ranking Soviet officials who may still occupy their positions in Moscow, could have played in the business. This is the first factor.

The other factor is Moscow's understanding that a public trial of the former state and party leaders may become an unwanted precedent for other countries. This may easily be why Moscow is procrastinating, hoping that the problem would be solved in a natural way: Honecker is already 78 and his health is really poor.

Perhaps mercy should be displayed to Honecker? Perhaps, but only after the trial. Whatever sentence the court may pass on Honecker, chances are that the panel of doctors will examine Honecker and certify him as unfit for staying in prison, proceeding from Christian mercy and humanitarian considerations. The trial, however, will restore justice vis-à-vis the victims of the Honecker regime and juridically condemn the anti-humane essence of totalitarianism.

Trials of former East German leaders from the Honecker team are unavoidable. At the end of January Berlin will see the trial of one of Honecker's closest lieutenants, trade unions leader Harry Tisch who had not been smart enough to seek asylum in a Soviet military hospital.

A month after the Berlin Wall was built, Erich Honecker ordered the guards to shoot on those who tried to climb it over to escape to West Berlin

*Nikita Zholkver,*
our own correspondent
BONN
*Photo from Der Spiegel (FRG)*

# Whither runs the Soviet locomotive

*Evgeny Rusakov*

**What can we expect from the appointment of the new Soviet foreign minister?**

In the early summer of 1956, Josip Broz Tito was expected to arrive in Moscow on an official visit. I and other first-year students of the Moscow State Institute of International Relations lively discussed how the Yugoslav President, defamed by the Soviet leadership in the recent past, would meet with Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov, one of the main instigators of the campaign against the "Tito clique." The Yugoslav delegation was already passing through Ukraine by train. A brilliant way out of the situation was found at that time. Stalin's associate was relieved of his post.

It is generally believed that the change of a foreign minister means a shift in the accent and style of the country's diplomacy and even in its foreign policy strategy. This is what happened in July 1985, when Eduard Shevardnadze replaced Andrei Gromyko, "Mr Niet", as he was sometimes called in the West. Not known as a diplomat before, the new foreign minister has written a bright chapter in the history of Soviet diplomacy, becoming a co-architect of new political thinking. What can we expect from the appointment of Alexander Bessmertnykh, a career diplomat, to the post of foreign minister?

## Perestroika in foreign policy

Now, almost six year after the commencement of perestroika, it may seem that a new foreign policy appeared in April 1985 instantly, like Aphrodite coming out of the sea. In actual fact, it matured gradually, in the process of reappraising new realities and overcoming old stereotypes.

The new Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, began his foreign policy by clearing the obstacles left by the period of East-West confrontation, the most acute since the Caribbean crisis.

The confrontation was aggravated by a number of fatal steps which buried the detente of the 1970s. The Soviet generals, elated by good performance data of the new SS-20 missile, insisted on the deployment of these missiles, ignoring the foreign-policy consequences of this step. The Soviet Union began to modernize its shock tank divisions stationed in the German Democratic Republic and other East European countries. Finally, in December 1979, a "limited contingent of Soviet troops" was sent to Afghanistan. The US President called for a crusade against the "evil empire," announced a long-term programme of modernization of the American strategic triad, and put forward the idea of creating a "space shield" for the United States. In November 1983, Washington and NATO began to install Pershing-2 missiles in Western Europe capable of hitting Moscow within six to eight minutes. The Soviet delegation walked out of the Geneva talks. Television showed the endless lines of tanks inspected at the war games by Defence Minister Dmitry Ustinov. Even children asked whether a war would break out.

Thanks to the bold thinking and diplomatic skill of Gorbachev and Shevardnadze, international public opinion of the Soviet Union improved greatly and rather quickly and the possibility of an armed conflict between the East and the West was reduced to almost zero. The Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and the normalization of Moscow's relations with China became the main landmarks of their policy.

In my opinion, the foreign policy at the first stage of perestroika was on the whole in keeping with the canons of the detente of the 1970s which brought about treaties on strategic arms limitation and anti-missile defence and the Helsinki conference on security and cooperation in Europe. However, Gorbachev, Shevardnadze and their associates were prepared to go further than merely achieving a relaxation in international tension. The basic principles of new political thinking gradually crystallized. They included the priority of shared human values, the right of peoples to the freedom of choice, and the joint struggle for the survival of mankind and the solution to global problems.

## Not a stratagem, but a strategic line

Any division of events into rigidly limited stages is always relative. Nevertheless, I shall venture a guess that Soviet foreign policy had exceeded the limits of detente proper in the summer of 1989. It is possible that the Soviet Union had matured enough earlier. But there was a more than half-year pause caused by the election of a new president in the United States and a reappraisal by the new administration of US policy towards the Soviet Union. In May of 1989, George Bush had at last declared his firm support for perestroika in the USSR and in favour of going beyond the limits of a "strategy of restraint."

Recalling the Information Forum held in London at that time, I cannot rid myself of the feeling of unreality experienced by many of its participants. In

Washington, January 26. The first visit abroad of the new Soviet foreign minister

some cases it was difficult to guess who represented Western and who Eastern countries. The Polish delegation included members of Solidarity and the Hungarian delegation, members of the opposition. At that time it was unusual to hear how delegates from "fraternal" countries vividly described "the violation of human rights" by communist regimes. The Soviet delegates pretended to take no heed of criticisms against their country. The fact that there was made only one mild "rebuke", Lord Chesterfield-style (Be wiser than other people, if you can, but do not tell them so), came as a complete surprise to Western delegates. It was probably the last "retro" statement of this kind before the advent of new times.

Several months later the declaration of sovereignty by one East European country after another and Moscow's stand finally convinced the West that new political thinking is not a tactical manoeuvre, not a diplomatic stratagem, but a strategic line.

The policy of perestroika in foreign policy entered its second stage. It was marked by Soviet-American agreements on a transition to a new, peaceful world order, the unification of Germany, the Soviet Union's actions taken, together with other civilized nations, against the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, and the Paris Charter which officially put an end to the Cold War on the continent.

Within one and a half year the Soviet Union has advanced down the path towards overcoming the confrontation between the two worlds and returning to the community of civilized nations farther than it did over the previous decades after the October Revolution. The reconciliation between the former opponents (untill the recent events in the Baltic republics) culminated in the provision of credits for perestroika by West European countries and even by the "bastion of imperialism."

## Too much, too fast

Together with the success of Soviet diplomacy at the second stage of perestroika in foreign policy, the burden of new problems started to be felt. At the second stage the link between the home and foreign policies played an evil trick on Moscow. In the early years of perestroika, the policy of improving the international situation fully suited the need of creating favourable external conditions for reforms in the Soviet Union. Moreover, it was conducted from the position of a relatively strong rear, at least on the surface. Diplomacy successfully played the part of a locomotive pushing the country ahead along the road of demilitarizing the economy, political pluralism and observance of human rights and freedoms.

However, the economic crisis, the break-up of the Union as a unitary state, and the aggravation of social tensions have weakened the rear of Soviet foreign policy. The virtual loss by the Soviet Union of its status as a superpower has largely determined the character of diplomacy in the second state of perestroika in foreign policy. One even wonders in what measure the vigorous foreign policy activity is guided by a rational strategic calculation and in what measure it is simply an attempt to compensate by diplomatic successes and foreign economic benefits for internal weaknesses or the lack of levers for influencing the course of events.

Moscow's policy in Eastern Europe is indicative in this respect. Basically, it was the only corect policy. Any attempt to crush popular revolutions would not only have been immoral, it would have thrown our country many years back not only in its internal development but also in its relations with the rest of the world. The tragic events in Vilnius and Riga are also fraught with such a danger.

Tanks or contemplation? Is it correct to raise a question like this in the assessment of the East European situation? The recognition of the right of East European peoples to freedom of choice does not necessarily mean renunciation of the defence of lawful interests recognized in the civilized world. Apart from tanks, there are political, economic, diplomatic and other peaceful means of protecting the country's interests. Such means were used, but unfortunately without much success. In spite of past mistakes, Moscow should have calculated better the consequences of the hasty withdrawal of Soviet troops and have better prepared for it.

In 1989 and 1990, in a number of directions the diplomatic locomotive ran too far ahead of the rapidly weakening internal home fronts. The totalitarian economy, the inconvertible ruble and the sluggish transfer to market economy keep our country so tight that even the most brilliant diplomatic successes will not help to integrate it in the world economy. No wonder Soviet "economic diplomacy" has lately been reduced to the provision of foreign credits without which the USSR would be in an even worse situation.

The gap between foreign policy and its rear within the country was evident perhaps most clearly in the field of disar-

mament. The withdrawal of a more than half-million-strong army from Germany and other East European countries, combined with the dismantling of tens of thousands of tanks, armoured personnel carriers and guns is an extremely complicated matter, especially in conditions of economic dislocation and grave social and political tension in our contry. In this lies one of the explanations (but not a justification) of the generals' juggling with figures. The data presented by them seriously damaged the Soviet Union's reputation as a partner at the talks on arms reduction.

The Defence Ministry is sometimes criticized now for failing to have prepared for the withdrawal of troops in advance. But this criticism is hurled at the wrong person. Troops were sent to Hungary and Czechoslovakia by the then Soviet leaders with the loud or silent "approval" of "the Soviet people," except for those who were referred to as "renegades." We all got into a mess, and now we all have to get out of it.

The weaknesses of Soviet foreign policy at the second stage of perestroika should not be attributed to diplomats only. They are the result of the inefficiency of the state machinery and the whole of our society.

## "Concentration" or retreat?

Several major foreign policy decisions – on the German problem, the situation in the Persian Gulf and the Paris agreements – were adopted by Gorbachev after the abrogation of Article VI of the Constitution, when he seemed to have freed himself forever from the tight embrace of the Politburo. However, having regrouped, the conservatives found other ways of exerting pressure on the President. The parliament, one of reformers' achievements, is among them.

The conservatives have launched an attack by accusing the leadership of "losing Eastern Europe" and the desire to send troops to the Persian Gulf. At the 4th Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, Shevardnadze felt compelled to resign.

The second stage of perestroika in foreign policy has come to an end. It will culminate in the February meeting between Gorbachev and Bush and the signing of a treaty on the limitation of strategic offensive armaments.

What will the third stage bring? Gorbachev has repeatedly stated recently that the strategy of new political thinking will not change. This will apparently be so, provided the USSR does not turn from its course of perestroika and democratic reforms in its policies and the economy. The West's tough reaction to the tragic events in Vilnius and Riga shows that the foreign policy building erected on the foundation of new political thinking is still fragile, and one or two reckless actions within the country could severely shake or destroy it.

In any case, it will apparently be necessary to concentrate on a less rapid but more thoroughly prepared movement along the road to establishing new political thinking in international relations. There are both subjective and objective reasons for such a conclusion.

The revival of conservative forces is in my opinion one of the many tides on the way from totalitarian to democratic society with a developed market economy. It shows that a huge state machinery like the one in the Soviet Union cannot be taken by assault. Incidentally, it must be reformed, not stormed. The Soviet Union differs from Poland and Czechoslovakia. The reformist psychology is penetrating into mass consciousness slowly. The subjective factor – the activity of conservative forces – will continue to influence both foreign and domestic policy for a long time.

The time has come to bring the rear forward. It will take many years to comply with agreements on the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe and the forthcoming agreements on strategic offensive weapons. In the opinion of Western analysts, new negotiations will require greater readiness and scrupulousness from both parties.

The Paris Charter for a New Europe has imparted a fresh impulse to the Helsinki process. A new summit is to be held in the Finnish capital next year. Sustained efforts have to be made so that the process would not be blocked by the "damned" nationalities question which is acquiring greater importance in the third and other "baskets." In short, a common European home can hardly be built in a rush.

Soviet foreign policy in the Asian-Pacific region has good prospects. Gorbachev is to pay an official visit to Japan, the first ever by a head of the Soviet state. Relations between the Soviet Union and China and other countries of Southeast Asia are expanding, and ties with South Korea are developing rapidly. It is indicative that the new Soviet foreign minister had his first meeting with Japanese foreign minister Nakayama. There is an alluring idea of promoting the Bandung principles after the Helsinki pattern. However, one should take into account the restrained attitude of Japan and the United States to any change of the present status quo in Asia and the Pacific region.

Delicate efforts will be needed to end the war in the Persian Gulf. A new global alignment of forces in the postwar period is vague. Moscow's efforts to settle the conflict by getting the Security Council resolutions fulfilled provide a good basis for broader cooperation not only with the West, but also with developing countries, many of which, especially Arab and Moslem, regard the events in the Persian Gulf as a manifestation of Washington's great-power policy. The Soviet Union has successfully abandoned the idea of building socialism in the African jungles. However, a well-grounded political and economic strategy in the Third World is only beginning to take shape.

By all indications, the President needs now in the post of foreign minister an intelligent specialist with practical experience rather than a partner in the elaboration of the Soviet Union's foreign policy strategy. It is not accidental that, proposing Alexander Bessmertnykh as a candidate to the post, Gorbachev especially noted his professionalism. For many years the newly appointed foreign minister worked in the United States and studied American problems, as well as disarmament, regional, global and other problems. As a participant in the previous Soviet-American high-level talks, he quickly joined in his new capacity preparations for a new summit meeting by flying to Washington for consultations with James Baker.

During perestroika, our language, foreign policy vocabulary as well, has been enriched by new words. Sometimes the desire to send glowing reports, wishful thinking and highfalutin language bury the fine ideas of new political thinking. Fewer words, more effective actions. It is important not only for our tormented policy and disintegrating economy but also for our diplomacy. "Move forward quicker, but not in a hurry." This expression would be a good motto at the new stage of foreign policy. All the trends of foreign policy should be balanced in a better way and it should be linked more tightly with the needs of the economy, internal policy and national security.

What can we expect then – "concentration" or a retreat, or acceleration after all?

One thing is clear: more difficulties and more day-to-day work lie ahead.

# Chasing a "lame rabbit,"

## or How to erect a foundation under the pyramid of society

One feels right at home here. Everything is just the same. The difference of opinions, the love of truth (each his own), which then turns into political intolerance, forcing the only possible solutions on one another, claiming that "there is no other path for us to take." The situation is analogous to a provincial town where for some unknown reason an acting troupe stayed on for an indefinite period. Yesterday actors' monologues which shocked people by their frankness today seem mundane, dynamic acting appears to drag. But things are worse for the person who came to the theatre to eat at the buffet in the intermission. It seems there is no end to the disappointment.

Political society, according to the expression of philosopher and political scientist, Radu Florian is only the tip of the pyramid. Underneath there is nothing but amorphous, spontaneous processes. It is a crisis of the intelligentsia, a crisis of the political left which puts off further the hope for the creation of a civil society.

While it is true that the Socialist Labour Party was founded, a "left-leaning, moderate socialist type," the rapidity with which government officials distanced themselves from the new organization makes one inclined not to doubt the veracity of Mr. Florian's words.

Romania. Our neighbour, our ally, our partner in joys, of which there are so very few and in problems of which, alas, there are many that the desire to regard them as purely national and share them with neighbors gives rise to new problems.

"The stir around various pieces of territory and borders is the tribute to traditions. They are chauvinistic and nationalistic which Romania, does not, by the way, have a monopoly on," says sociologist Pavel Cimpeanu. "Nowadays, however, rumours involving the Bessarabia question in part serve to distract Romanians from difficulties within their own country. One must decide what is more important for Romania: preserving and widening territory or retaining a population striving to flee abroad. I suggest that priorities must lie in creating conditions under which Romanians desire to remain in their homeland. For the time being, such conditions have not yet been created. And from this point of view, territorial problems, preserving their moral character, are not the most burning issues for us." If only the leaders of the Association for Bessarabia and Bukovina along with their supporters, who appealed to the parliament of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova not to sign the Treaty of Union, would hear that.

...He looks like he's just over 50. Judging from his history ("before the war shared a prison cell for political prisoners with Nicolae Ceaucescu") one might think him to be a lot older. Yesterday he was a dissident and today is one of the leaders of the group For a Social Dialogue which is trying to reduce the political tension in society. His sweater and jeans strangely enhance the sternness and delicacy of his manner and speech. Suddenly noticing that a screw fell out of the rims of his glasses and got lost somewhere in the pile of the rug, he exclaimed excitedly, "I wonder how much a new one costs these days."

Wages remain the same, but there are no goods to be bought. Prices rise and shelves become more bare. Demonstrators jam city squares and the government refuses to raise prices further, thus complicating the process of establishing contacts with the International Monetary Fund in the name of restoring them with the people in the streets. If only in part and for a little more time. And meanwhile on television are shown Western video clips which one can watch without shoes and without... Not that this should sound malicious or ironic. Let Londoners or residents of Prague take an ironic tone, I as a Muscovite have better things to do.

"One way or another, your people are better off, your country is richer," was the phrase I heard from one of my Romanian colleagues. But if someone is trying to separate the wheat from the chaff and someone else is trying to separate the chaff from the wheat, both are poor and unfortunate in their own right. Sovereignty is for the time being strong only in spirit.

There are murmurs in Bucharest: "we don't have any financial means of our own. we should borrow money." But potential creditors are not banging down the door to Romania. "No clear opinion has been formed abroad as to what the political face of the new Romania is," one financial expert told his fellow countrymen, trying to reassure them. It seems to me that the new political face itself has not yet been formed.

"There just isn't time left for politics," complain residents of the Romanian capital. "There are so many problems that it is virtually impossible to assign priorities."

"The priority is obvious," say professional economists. "Liberalization of prices and the start of radical economic reform..."

And then one hears a whisper in the crowd, "It was better under Ceaucescu." Yesterday such voices were opinions not to be heard. Today one can make them out quite clearly.

Publicist Ion Cristoiu identified the paradox: a liberal cabinet is directing a communist administrative apparatus.

"Reform is a social, very dangerous problem," Pavel Cimpeanu feels. "It is difficult to imagine the willingness-to-work level falling any lower than it is today."

What then? New tremours and finally unfamiliar democracy? Or new tremours and the appearance of the all-too-familiar dictatorship? Yesterday Europe applauded the "lost generation" which created a revolution. Could that same generation be lost again?

"In Romania the danger of an eruption of socio-politically motivated violence is constantly present," Pavel Cimpeanu assures one. "The inability of the government to provide the bare minimum of law will stimulate the tendencies towards the establishment of a military dictatorship. On the other hand, a somewhat weak government more suits us. We just had a very strong one not long ago. The question is one of how limited that weakness should be... Naturally, a military dictatorship is not the most direct path one can take to democracy, but as compared to a very weak civilian government thearmy has a great potential."

Other views exist which

–What is going on here?
–Nothing in particular. We're playing parliament

*Cartoon from the magazine Viata romaneasca (Romania)*

suggest that the army cannot come to power as it does not possess the ability to think and act independently.

"It is occupied with rehabilitating its own face and often in very ineffective ways, for example appealing to the memory of Marshal Antonescu and ignoring the fact that itfought on Hitler's side in the war... Forgetting that the existence of a tyrant across the lines at the front does not change the character of the last war," one of my interlocutors in Bucharest said to me. By the way, he does not rule out the possibility of a combination of internal political tendences which might give the army the role of an arbiter.

All the same, will there really be a dictatorship, Mr.Cimpeanu? There is always the Polish road to reform consisting of a shock that does not kill.

"Yes, Poland did not allow the economic catastrophe to turn into a social one. There existed there and still exists Solidarity and the Polish Roman Catholic Church, neither of which exists in Romania."

Naturally, there is a Church in Romania as well. And, judging from the campaign to rid the country of works of monumental propaganda, its role in the life of society is felt considerably. Felt, in fact, to such a degree that many secular politicians see a great deal of show in the activities of their cassock-wearing colleagues. Others are more categorical, stating that the Church, which "always fed extreme right-wing tendencies" should be more reserved in its actions.

Is there any group analogous to Solidarity in Poland? If so, this role might possibly be played by a new Romanian political formation now gaining strength, the Civilian Alliance, which under new conditions might become the irreplaceable shock-absorber of the inevitable reform. Or maybe it will be the motor which will be capable of synchronizing the activity of the government with the hopes and expectations of the people who appear to have become disillusioned with the policies of the National Salvation Front and the actions of an opposition at odds with itself. Maybe the Civilian Alliance will keep the Church in the cathedrals and people's souls and the army in its barracks.

Three words hang in the air, words beyond which lie only two paths: dialogue, conspiracy, coup.

Ion Iliescu is discussing with the leaders of the National Liberal Party the possibility of creating a national government and Petre Roman is trying to rehabilitate new laws to broaden the dynamics of the private sector. In the press, the Socialist Labour Party is compared to a lame rabbit and Romania to a tiger saddled by the National Salvation Front. "The one riding the tiger needs the lame rabbit so that while chasing the rabbit the tiger forgets that someone sits astride it." In the Chamber of Deputies there has been a proposal that the Commission for problems of rights and culture be set the task of working out a new legal code which would "put an end to deception and slander in the press..."

*Andrei Vinogradov,*
special correspondent of NIA for *New Times,*
BUCHAREST–MOSCOW



# Opting for dollars in bilateral trade

## Moscow and Havana try to avoid shock therapy

The largest building in Cuba, known to the population by its pre-revolutionary name Focsa, is reminiscent of the Tower of Babylon, but not outwardly, because it is built in the form of an open book. The association is called after its tenants – people of various nationalities who came here to help Cuba build socialism.

The Havana tower did not share the fate of that of Babylon thanks to the service personnel who manage to keep up the water supply and keep at least one lift working for 300 flats. After the revolution the building was named after commandant Manuel Fajardo. But people continued to call the tower by its old name. However, the unbending spirit of the commandant seems to help the Focsa attending staff to overcome the problems of material supply.

Nevertheless, the Focsa did not escape changes either. Some of the East European and Soviet specialists left Cuba and more North Koreans arrived on the island. Relations between the newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* and Cuban authorities did not shape well and the latter closed its correspondent's office in Havana. The *New Times* office, like the offices of other magazines and newspapers, is also in a precarious position. For a long time the financial bodies in Moscow did not know how to keep the offices of Soviet newspapers and magazines in Havana.

Nevertheless, as in other socialist countries, foreigners live better in Cuba than local citizens do. It should be noted that until recently such a state of affairs did not spoil the cordiality of their relations. True, salesmen in the currency shops situated on the Focsa ground floor now demonstrate their cool arrogance towards Soviet specialists trying to buy scarce goods before a sudden return to Moscow more openly.

International events stirred up the little world of Focsa. Poland refused to buy Cuban sugar and Czechoslovakia refused to represent Cuba's diplomatic interests in Washington. However, the greatest stir was created by the news that from January I, 1991 the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance would go over to hard currency settlements at world prices. As a result, the services of Soviet advisers to Cuba became expensive. True, many of them complained that they had been doing nothing for a long time. By the end of 1990 Aeroflot could not bring home all Soviet citizens who were supposed to leave Cuba. The number of Soviet specialists was to be cut almost by half.

Suddenly the commotion subsided and those who were packing their suitcases and boxes and counting their losses breathed a sigh of relief. Everything remained as it was. On New Year's eve Moscow and Havana concluded agreements on terms of trade, goods transportation and scientific and technical cooperation. Under these agreements in 1991, which is regarded as the transition period, the economic relations will basically remain as in the past.

There are some changes, however. From now on Cuba will annually buy 10 million tons of Soviet oil, as it did last year, instead of the 13 million tons it bought in the previous five-year period. It will have to pay not 168 rubles a ton as before, but the current price of oil on the world market. In the past the Soviet Union annually bought four and a half million tons of Cuban sugar. This year it will buy somewhat less, but at a price slightly exceeding the preferential price set by the United States for sugar purchases from Latin American countries – 500-odd dollars a ton. As for the transition to commercial settlements in hard currency, payments in ghostly COMECON rubles will give way to payments in no less ghostly clearing dollars.

The clearing system was accepted by both parties because they do not have enough dollars. The transition to this method of settlement is even being re-

garded as a success. A careful study of the agreements shows however that clearing is not advantageous to the Soviet Union, because it will again supply more than it receives. In addition to the usual half-billion credit for scientific and technical assistance, the Soviet Union will again allocate an unknown sum for the balancing of trade (up to a billion rubles was annually appropriated in the past).

It is not clear either whether, as distinct from previous times, virtually non-repayable credits in rubles, the new, dollar credits will ever be repaid. If Moscow is compelled to pay for Cuba's commitments to other countries (taken in hard currency and guaranteed by the Soviet Union) it is unlikely to be reembursed in the future.

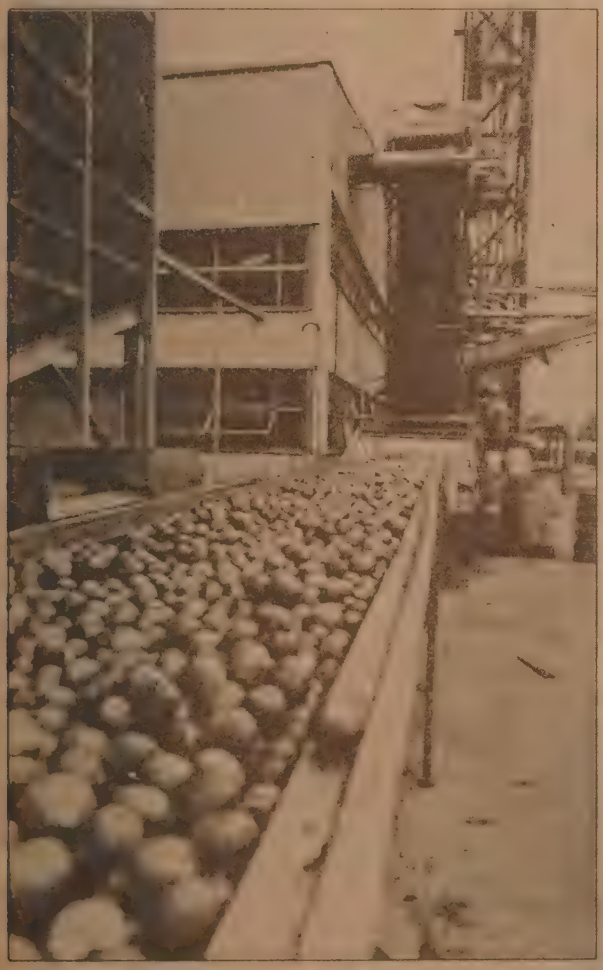
In its January issue the Cuban magazine *Latin American Economic Panorama* carried an article which saying "The basic principles determining economic relations between socialist countries remain fully valid in the present international situation. One of these principles is the promotion of cooperation based on the community of political interests which help to find the most adequate solutions to the economic and social problems of each country in accordance with its possibilities and taking fuller account of the principle of mutual benefit." Those who drew up the above mentioned agreements seem to have been guided precisely by this principle, "the community of political interests", so dear to the hearts of officials of the foreign economic departments who have got accustomed to the "special character" of relations between our countries.

Nevertheless, in 1991 and subsequent years many aspects of Soviet-Cuban economic relations will have to be clarified. It is possible that new circumstances, not considered before, will influence the agreements reached by both parties. How will Soviet enterprises accept the idea of receiving mythical clearing dollars for their products intended for Cuba? Will the republics fulfil the agreements signed on behalf of the Union? Will our economy, sliding further into a crisis, be able to carry out these agreements?

This means that more changes are likely to appear among the tenants of Focsa, no matter how much many of then would like to keep the present state of affairs as it is for ever.

*Vitaly Sobolev*,
our own correspondent

HAVANA



**Almost half the citrus fruit imported by the Soviet Union comes from Cuba** *Photo from the magazine Cuba*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*HUMAN RIGHTS*

# Repressive psychiatry and the law

In the popular television thriller, Petrovka 38, a police officer tells a thief and a murderer who tries to pretend he is insane: "They will crack you in a moment at the Serbsky Institute..." The Soviet dissidents of the 1970s were unanimous in regarding the Serbsky Institute as a symbol of repressive psychiatry in the USSR. It is as such a symbol that the institute became a part of this country's political vocabulary.

Today the Serbsky Institute of Forensic and General Psychiatry has a new director. What does she think about her institute's image? *NEW TIMES'* analyst Marina Shakina speaks to Dr. **Tatiana DMITRIYEVA**

**N.T. When you came to head the Serbsky Institute you could not have been unaware of the notoriety it had gained. After all, you have been a staff worker of the institute for 15 years already...**

**T.D.** I understand your question and why you are asking it. Some Western Sovietologists accused and continue to accuse Soviet psychiatrists, including those working for the Serbsky Institute of abusing psychiatry for repressive purposes. Such accusations are vastly belated and do not consider the fact that Soviet psychiatry as a whole and the Serbsky Institute in particular have changed a great deal during the years of perestroika.

*Drawing by Victor Bogorad*

First of all, it must be noted that most staff workers of the institute had no information about the people convicted under Articles 70 and 190 (1) of the Criminal Code of the Russian Republic and sent to our institute for examination. Neither did we know about the diagnoses. When I joined the Serbsky staff in 1976 the only thing I knew was that some patients there were sent to the Institute by the KGB, the Interior Ministry, the Procuracy and the courts. People who were under investigation and charged with the notorious "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and "slandering the Soviet system" were among our patients as well. Such cases, however, were always classified as "top secret" by the KGB and automatically case histories and other medical documents of such patients became top secret as well. Examination was performed by a selected group of psychiatrists who had "dopusk", that is, were allowed to handle top secret cases. Naturally, I knew the psychiatrists working for that Department Four of our institute and I have always respected them as highly professional experts...

**N.T. Do you mean that other staff workers of the institute did not know anything about what was going on?..**

**T.D.** You are forgetting one very important thing: all psychiatry experts are warned against purposefully false diagnoses and about secrecy of investigation. They sign relevant documents too. Today forensic psychiatric examination remains a part of the investigation process.

Another thing is also forgotten: a psychiatrist's conclusion is not a sentence, the final decision on a case is passed by the court. The psychiatrist may diagnose a patient as not being answerable for his/her actions or recommend that he/she be kept in a general-purpose mental institution. The investigating officer and the court may either agree or disagree with that conclusion; they may order another examination performed by other experts and in another hospital or institute. The court may choose any of two or more conclusions and it is the court that passes the final verdict.

**N.T.** How big is your institute's department which deals with the so-called "state crimes"?

**T.D.** We have eight beds reserved for "top secret" patients. Incidentally, these beds are usually vacant.

We make up to two thousand examinations each year. Even in the worst years the number of examinations of the so-called "state criminals" did not exceed 1 to 2 percent of the total. In the past ten years we have made few such examinations. We have also recruited new people to work for that department.

**N.T. Dissidents used to describe your institute as an obedient servant of the KGB, saying it would pass any diagnosis the KGB required. For instance, General Grigorenko was diagnosed as fully answerable for his actions by the Military Assizes, but after he was examined in your institute, he already had a different diagnosis, the one the KGB wanted to see...**

**T.D.** Once again, let me remind you that in the legal sense the conclusion made by our institute is in no way superior to those made by other specialized medical institutions. We do have more experienced experts. We do examine suspects from all over the Union, especially if local forensic psychiatrists lack experience to pass a diagnosis. But the final verdict is up to the court.

As for General Grigorenko... I have never met him or had a chance to study his case history. In his time, Academician Morozov suggested that people who believed they had been diagnosed as mental patients with no reason, submit to a joint psychiatric examination attended by foreign experts as well. However, I have not heard about anyone responding to this suggestion...

I must note one more thing: once in the West, many former patients of Department Four were diagnosed as having acute psychosis and were hospitalized (Stroyeva in Paris, Konstantinov in Vienna). We used to learn that from the papers.

I have no reason whatsoever to suspect that our institute passes false diagnoses on healthy and mentally sound people. On the whole, the problem of revision of earlier psychiatric conclusions raises a number of legal problems.

**N.T. Still, many former patients and independent psychiatrists insist that the Serbsky Institute is responsible for psychiatric abuse. The trust in your institute will return no sooner than the past notoriety is buried...**

**T.D.** Yes, I agree with you. I have applied to the KGB chairman, Vladimir Kryuchkov, asking to de-classify our case histories archives, the more so as changes in this country have already resulted in the abolition of Articles 70 and 190 (1) of the Criminal Code of the Russian Republic. As far as I know, my appeal is being seriously considered. It is necessary to de-classify our archives, so that the public could make sure that our diagnoses had been correct. The only condition that may prevent disclosure of case histories may be objections from people who had been examined.

If there had been any abuse, honestly it is difficult for me to imagine how it could work. It is highly doubtful that psychiatrists might be ordered about by telephone calls from the top. I did see cases of psychiatric abuse in some provincial hospitals, but even there such cases concerned not the diagnosis but the circumstances of hospitalization. A local boss could call the mental hospital and order that some one be locked in with no juridical formalities. Such problems, however, are problems of our psychiatric service, its legal status, its rights, rather than purely professional problems.

**N.T. What is your opinion of the diagnosis "continuous sluggish schizophrenia"? They say it was coined especially for dissidents, that it is not recognized by the international academic community and even some Soviet schools of psychiatry, including the Leningrad one...**

**T.D.** The terms "continuous sluggish schizophrenia", "soft schizophrenia" (a synonym), appeared in the West and not in the USSR. My personal experience tells me that schizophrenia, like any disease, gastritis or pancreatitis, may have different forms. Any disease has extreme forms: the acute, obvious one and the chronic, sluggish one.

I believe that continious sluggish schizophrenia is an objective reality. I have treated patients with sluggish progress of the disease, but their individuality was changing, the negative symptomes were increasing and this indicated that the process leading to schizophrenic insanity was deepening.

The thinking powers of such patients were deteriorating with each passing year: this is viewed as a specific symptom of schizophrenia. In my opinion, to say that continuous sluggish schizophrenia does not exist means to refuse to recognize an objective reality.

**N.T. What do you think must be done to liberate Soviet psychiatry from its reputation of a repressive science?**

**T.D.** The Serbsky Institute is only one link in the system of Soviet health care. The entire psychiatric service has to become more humane.

Naturally this applies also to our institute and I am very resolute in my intention to make our institute more humane. In my opinion, the specific features of our work make it necessary to take the Serbsky Institute out of the system of the Public Health Ministry and the Academy of Medical Sciences and put it under the control of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. We have already taken some steps: priests are now allowed to speak to the patients and internal regulations have been liberalized. We are trying to improve conditions for our patients and make the wards nicer and more comfortable: we are spending the money

Tatiana Dmitriyeva, 38, born into a family of doctors settled in Ivanovo, graduated from the Ivanovo State Medical College, then worked as a psychiatrist for the Ivanovo Psychiatric Hospital. In 1976 she entered the post-graduate department of the Serbsky Forensic and General Psychiatry Institute, specializing in psychogenic disorders in pre-adolescents and adolescents. She defended her thesis ahead of schedule and after graduation from the post-graduate department worked as a junior researcher for the Serbsky Institute, she became a senior researcher two years later.

In 1985–1986 Tatiana Dmitriyeva edited and compiled a two-volume Psychiatric Manual. In 1986 she was appointed head of an institute department.

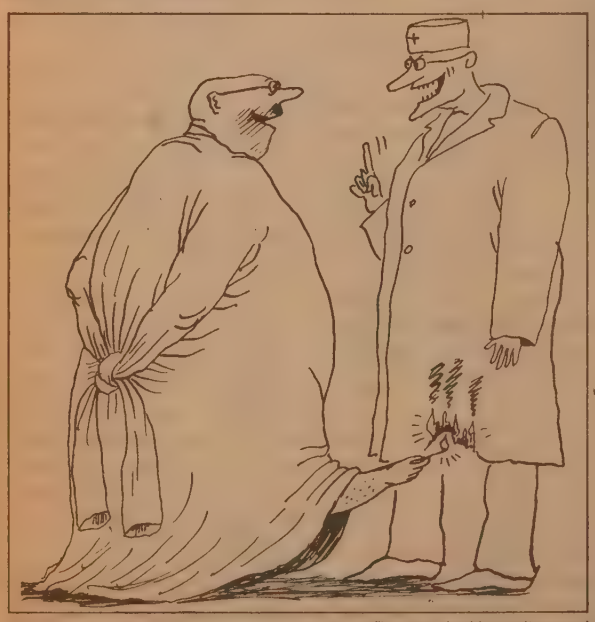
A year ago she was appointed Deputy Director of the Serbsky Institute in charge of scientific research and she also retained her former position as departmental head. As Deputy Director Tatiana Dmitriyeva supervised all matters concerning forensic psychiatry. In July last year she defended her thesis at the Bekhterev Psychology and Neurology Research Centre in Leningrad and was appointed Director of the institute a month later.

Tatiana Dmitriyeva is married, has no children. Her hobby is her home, cooking, gardening and music.

that the Public Health Ministry granted to our institute for the first time. We have set up departments dealing with legal and ethical aspects of psychiatry, organization of medical and psychiatric help to convicts suffering from mental disorders, theoretical and technical aspects of forensic psychological examinations and so on. Staff workers of the institute actively participate in the working out of this country's first Psychiatric Aid Law. I believe we have to borrow the experience of developed European countries – in particular we must establish an independent psychiatric service, a national social relief fund financed by the parliament and catering to patients. Workers of such a fund (one worker posted in every large hospital) could help patients uphold their rights, solve personal and every-day problems, if necessary act as mediators between the hospital staff and the patients. Psychiatric services must be controlled by human rights organizations and the results of psychiatric examinations must be published, provided of course the patient or the patient's relations agree or demand to see such results published.

I would like to speak on something that is unpopular in the Soviet press now. The problem is the condition of psychiatrists. I have worked for this institute for 15 years and I know that those who work in forensic psychiatry are really devoted people. They are enthusiastic, dedicated to their profession and possess a sense of responsibility. They have never had any special privileges. Their pay is low, they work hard and their rights are not adequately protected, despite the fact that their work is difficult and may be even dangerous.

I am saying this not in order to justify past errors or make people pity us: I just want to present the real picture. If psychiatry is not based on a clear legal foundation, if society does not give it the necessary assistance, this branch of medical science will not change for the better and abuses will become almost unavoidable.



*Drawing by Victor Bogorad*

# Czars of official psychiatry

US political scientist **Peter Raddaway**, one of the most outspoken critics of Soviet repressive psychiatry, presents his opinion about the state of affairs in Soviet psychiatry today

The fact that the Soviet psychiatrists have not yet renounced the practice of repressive psychiatry and that leading Soviet experts continue to keep silent about the problem produces considerable concern in the West. Today some new people have appeared at the helm of Soviet psychiatry, while old leaders seem to have stepped into the shade. The well-known Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry has a new director, while the violators of medical ethics, like Babayan, former head of the New Medicines Department of the Soviet Ministry of Public Health, now occupy less prominent places in the hierarchy, which inspires some hope that the situation may change for the better.

A huge amount of evidence about criminal psychiatric practices used in the USSR has been accumulated in the West. These violations are no secret to anyone in the West, but your doctors continue to ignore the facts, trying to save face.

In March 1989, I as a member of the US delegation of psychiatrists came to Moscow for a couple of weeks to make joint examinations. The Americans examined 27 persons deprived of freedom and put in psychiatric institutions, ostensibly for medical reasons. The Americans concluded that 17 out of the 27 had never been mentally ill and 10 did not need to stay in mental institutions, although they did have some disorders. It is difficult to explain why the results of the examinations differed so much. The American experts told me that the incompetence of their Soviet counterparts could hardly have been the reason. More likely, political considerations were at work. For example, the Soviet interpretation of continuous sluggish schizophrenia puzzles Western experts.

Another example: Western psychiatrists made thorough checkups on all Soviet dissidents allowed to emigrate to the West. Some former patients of the Serbsky Institute, for instance, were examined by independent experts in the USSR. In 95 cases out of about one hundred, either the earlier diagnoses were disproved or new, less serious diagnoses were passed, making the stay at hospital unnecessary. I could mention names: Vladimir Bukovsky, Alexei Nikitin, Leonid Plyushch and others.

The most well-known case is that of General Grigorenko. When he appeared in the West in 1978, American psychiatrists checked him most thoroughly. The most competent and experienced US psychiatrists concluded that Grigorenko did not suffer from any mental disorder and never had done. The results of the Grigorenko examination were widely discussed and commented on in the Western press. The conclusion of American psychiatrists and all the relevant documents were sent to Moscow, to Academician Snezhnevsky so that he could present them to the Soviet experts who had examined Grigorenko, in particular those from the Serbsky Institute. There was no reply. Georgy Morozov, the then director of the Serbsky Institute, opted not to continue the exchange of opinions.

I would like to recall one more example highlighting the condition of and the mores prevailing in official Soviet psychiatry. In 1978 one Yevgeny Nikolayev was locked into Moscow's Kashchenko Mental Hospital. Gary Loubier a representative of the Royal College of Psychiatry, came to Moscow from London on a special request from the president of the College. Gary Loubier conveyed the president's request to Head Doctor Morkovkin of the Kashchenko Mental Hospital, asking that he, Loubier, be allowed to examine Nikolayev. Morkovkin turned down the British doctor's request and very rudely so.

There has been a great number of other similar cases.

One of the most wide-spread methods used to vindicate Soviet psychiatrists who had engaged in repressive psychiatry is

the speculation that once in the West many of their patients ended up in mental homes. As a rule, no names are mentioned. However, speaking on Radio Moscow several years ago, Marat Vartanyan, who remains one of the leaders of Soviet psychiatry unlike the now obscure Morozov, had the audacity to mention two names – Moscow poet Natalia Gorbanevskaya and scientist Alexander Yesenin-Volpin. It was a sheer lie, though. Since she came to the West, Gorbanevskaya has been employed as an editor by the magazine *Kontinent,* while Yesenin-Volpin is studying mathematics and philosophy after having lectured for some time at Boston University. Neither Gorbanevskaya nor Yesenin-Volpin have ever been treated in Western mental hospitals.

I personally know many former prisoners of Soviet "special" mental hospitals who emigrated to the West. Many of them have been examined by Western experts. Naturally, it is possible to find a case or two when a person diagnosed as mentally ill in the USSR, was recognized as such in the West too and placed in a mental hospital there. Nonetheless, I can say with certainty that no case known to us confirms Vartanyan's speculations.

Much suspicion and irritation is produced in the West by the fact that Soviet doctors almost never help their patients to be rehabilitated from the viewpoint of psychiatry. Such rehabilitation is indeed a complicated juridical procedure, but psychiatrists could facilitate it by submitting the relevant material to the court. As far as I know, no victim of repressive psychiatry has been medically rehabilitated. Some time ago your magazine wrote about the case of Klebanov, a Donetsk miner (*NT* No. 38/89) who was juridically cleared of all charges but never rehabilitated medically.

I believe Soviet people will not trust their psychiatrists until the latter take a number of steps. I am not so naive as to think that doctors are completely to blame for repressive psychiatric practices. Naturally, bureaucrats and politicians who controlled and manipulated psychiatrists, making them violate medical ethics are greater culprits. That is why I think two declarations are needed – one on the part of the psychiatrists and the other on the part of the Soviet authorities – acknowledging that there have been abuses, that there has been a whole system which brought disgrace both on the state and the doctors. I have been studying the problem for about twenty years and have written three books on the subject. I insist that it was a system.

I do not think Soviet people will have any trust in their psychiatrists until the main culprits are punished for the violations, condemned by their colleagues and have their names published in the press.

I am not a revengeful man, but I believe some psychiatrists must be brought to trial. They committed crimes against humanity and they must be tried for these crimes. I think the psychiatrists guilty of violations fear that the whole truth may be unearthed one day. That is why we see corporate solidarity of psychiatrists who had been involved in violations and are shielding each other now.

In 1989, *New Times* apologized to miner Klebanov for Babayan's interview. Eduard Babayan himself, however, continues to sit in the Board of the All-Union Society of Psychiatrists, remains an associate editor of the journal *Zhurnal Nevropatologii i Psikhiatrii* and shows no intention whatsoever of admitting his guilt. Marat Vartanyan who was defending Soviet psychiatry before the whole world for 20 years when he represented the USSR in the World Association of Psychiatrists, has also retained his position and now behaves as if he were the czar of Soviet psychiatry.

I believe that continuing pressure from the world public, from the movement of independent psychiatrists and the press, may force Soviet psychiatrists, politicians and bureaucrats to start radically changing psychiatric practices in the USSR.

# Psychiatry under control

## The USSR needs a law protecting the rights of the mentally disabled

Psychiatry has probably been the most lawless sphere of Soviet life for a long time. In 1988, an attempt was made to change the situation for the better. The presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet enacted the Regulations of Rendering Psychiatric Assistance. As should have been expected, the first attempt misfired. Progressive norms stipulated by the Regulations were not backed by any serious implementation mechanism. The Regulations did not work, that is why the lawmakers started working out an all-Union law protecting the rights of the mentally disabled and persons who turn to psychiatric help. Now the draft law worked out by several ministries and departments is being considered by an ad hoc working team of the Legislation Committee of the Supreme Soviet.

In any other country in the world a psychiatrist thinks twice before intruding into the life of his/her patient. Psychiatrists know that their every step is scrutinized by lawyers and courts and may be a subject of legal action any time. Patients in mental institutions have lawyers who enjoy unhindered access to all medical documents. This almost rules out arbitrary treatment of such patients, which is a common practice in the USSR. Moreover, all kinds of treatment, with the exception of urgent cases, must be explained to the patient in detail and may not be administered without the patient's consent.

International standards and the practice in other countries include many other concrete rights of the mentally disabled and mechanisms allowing to adequately protect such rights. Soviet psychiatry's task now is to adopt such rights of mental patients as the right to seclusion, freedom of communication, uncensored correspondence, private meeting with lawyers and reasonably often, with other visitors. The same applies to postal and telephone communication as well as access to newspapers, radio and TV. Naturally, the freedom of conscience may not be subject to any restrictions.

Many Soviet psychiatrists regard the inevitable reforms in their sphere of activity as something tantamount to a professional Apocalypse. In reality, though, the task is to guarantee normal conditions for treatment of mental patients, respect for patients and protection from what is known as repressive psychiatry. In the final analysis, psychiatrists themselves will benefit from the reforms as they will not be able to regain the public trust and respect without bringing common sense back to their profession.

*Andrei Kovalyov*

# Just between us women...

*A letter to Tatiana Ivanova*

My dear, courageous Tatiana Ilyinichna,

I enjoy every article in your *Female Logic* series. You've chosen a very apt name for it. This does not mean that we, as opposed to our awfully wise and logical men, insist that two by two is five or something. Nevertheless, female logic does exist, and differs from men's in its emotional twist.

It came as a surprise to me when, having opened Issue No. 46 of *New Times*, I found an article by you which was not "true to type." From the opening paragraph on, your "Tin Gods" jarred on me. It struck me as cold, UNwomanly... For starters, you wistfully recall the "week of freedom" when (probably after the 20th Congress) "statues of Stalin were pulled down from their pedestals, with nooses tightened round their necks. Profiles of Stalin were chiselled off the walls. In public gardens his busts were crushed with sledgehammers. My classmates shot spit-wads at his portrait from their desks. That was in the sixth form. The fourth formers also shot, and so did the tenth-formers. We had a lot of fun in school that week." And, a bit further on, "Those were happy days."

Come off it, Tatiana Ilyinichna. At the time of the 20th Congress, I was already a university student, but I do not recall anyone having been overjoyed by the sight of the monuments being pulled down. People were confused, shocked even. How could it have been otherwise? The question is: what feelings did such a depreciation of values arouse in them? I can think of "bitterness," "shame," "despair," maybe "malice," "gloating delight"... Anything but "joy" and "happiness" which are pure, kind and warm feelings.

You know, I have my misgivings about the people who happily commit their idols of yesterday to flames. Such people may well demand tomorrow – if they feel a waft of the wind of change – that we should start idolizing what they have just burnt again. I don't think that people who have their heart in the right place would ever dance on anybody's grave.

Disappointment is an unpleasant experience, and elderly people take it especially hard. When the monstrous truth about Stalin was thrust upon us, most found it difficult to bear... Some broke down and shot themselves. Doesn't the fact that Shekhovtsov, an ex-prosecutor, was prepared to uphold Stalin's honour in court, mean anything to you emotionally? Many regard him as a funny old man with bats in his belfry. But when I saw a close-up of his eyes on the TV screen, it made my flesh creep. Those were the eyes of someone doomed and cornered – the anguished eyes of a cheated generation...

All right, we have learned enough about Stalin by now not to wince at the account of how his monuments were sledgehammered. But when you, Tatiana Ilyinichna, started talking about Lenin in the same vein, my soul rebelled. "I sometimes wrote about Lenin with a great deal of sympathy. I am sorry for that. Now I know better," you say. What are you apologizing for? For not having been hypocritical? I finished school shortly before Stalin's death, and the title of my graduation essay was "Stalin is Our Combat Glory, Stalin is the Banner of Our Youth." I do not feel ashamed of that. To quote Simonov, "I thought and felt that way then." So what am I to blame myself and to apologize for?

Let those who have deliberately cheated us offer their apologies. What I fully share with you are your hard feelings towards those who have concealed the truth from the people. But, honestly, have they really concealed much about Lenin from us? As far as Stalin was concerned, almost all the background information about him was suppressed, there's no denying that. So the exposé of his real self made a revolution in our minds. As for Lenin...

I have never had access to the archives or to any "taboo" literature, whether brought out by underground "samizdat" publishers here, or smuggled in from abroad. Even to me, however, few of today's numerous anti-Lenin publications come as a surprise. Ninety-nine percent of the "licences to kill," issued by Lenin and now being retrieved from oblivion to the horror of the uninformed have been within easy reach – on the library shelves reserved for the fifth edition of Lenin's Collected Works – for three decades now. Many of those who devoured Western "exposés" overnight to pass them down the endless "waiting list" had no notion of that.

I am among the few lucky ones (or eccentrics, if you will) who have read all those volumes – not because I had to, but just for the fun of it.

You may wonder how come I, upon learning about all those horrors, remained true to my idol. The thing is that I had come across those "horrors" in the context of Lenin's entire heritage. Quoted out of context, distorted and brought together into one "bouquet" – such as Venedikt Yerofeyev's elegant pasquinade entitled *My Little Leniniana* – these phrases sound much more sinister.

There are documents, however, which cannot but provoke protest. I mean, in particular, the letter you've mentioned about shooting the clergy. This letter is not to be found in the Collected Works. It worried me, I admit. Murder is always a crime, and

that's that. As you may guess, I may offer arguments which explain at least, if they do not justify, the motives behind that letter. I shall not adduce them, though, because I agree with you on the main thing: the document is monstrous!

Well, what's to be done now, Tatiana Ilyinichna? Do you think that he should follow the mustached tin god to the garbage heap? If Lenin meant nothing to you, then the answer is yes, of course.

Myself, I love Vladimir Ilyich and regad him as dominant influence. It was Lenin who changed my world entirely. I fell in love with him – not as he is portrayed by artists or played by actors, but as I came to know him while reading the fifty-five volumes of his Collected Works. Those volumes portray the real Lenin who was no angel – but no devil, either. He did not only insist that some people should take treatment or go on leave; he also had other people banished from the country or shot. But if one follows the sequence of these facts rather than picking them out in isolation from one another, one suddenly gets an insight into the logic of those times. A cruel logic, but logic nevertheless.

Quantitative proportions are also of importance. Those who are all out to denigrate Lenin, glean "gruesome" quotations and serve us a "concentrated broth." In the Collected Works, the proportion of such oft-quoted phrases is infinitesimal – indeed lost in the ocean of positive thoughts, humane recommendations and suggestions...

I am not saying that if terror is not wholesale, I kind of like it. Not at all! The cruel documents I came across while reading didn't leave me tickled pink. Nevertheless, by the time I closed the 55th volume I knew for certain that I would be in love with Lenin for the rest of my days. So why should I fall out of love with him now that some hitherto unknown scraps of information have come to light?

Just imagine, Tatiana Ilyinichna, that you love a certain person. You are convinced that this person is great. Then you learn all of a sudden that the object of your admiration has a misdeed, probably even a crime, on his conscience. Would you fall out of love with him right away? Put him out of your mind? Hardly... Angels alone are free of sin, but do you see many angels around? No human being is entirely virtuous.

Now if all the fine qualities of your beloved turn out to be just a mask camouflaging his black soul, that is a different story. This would be a disaster, of course. On the other hand, hundreds of intrinsic merits cannot be cancelled out by a few faults. Your discovery of these faults won't wreck your love, it will only compel you to take a more sober-minded view of the man you love. That was why your phrase "The shattering of my illusions about Lenin has left me totally cold" jarred on me. No one – no woman, anyway – can feel that way. The shattering of illusions cannot possibly leave a normal human being cold. A disaster like that is simply bound to cause you an emotional shock. An incident which you make light of is no disaster. Bitter disappointment is not something a woman can make light of.

And now the last thing. You are telling us, Tatiana Ilyinichna, that Lenin's portraits can be thrown out of school classrooms as painlessly as Stalin's were. This statement got me worried about our children.

My granddaughter (a charming little girl of seven) who has already read a lot of heavy tomes, and is taking lessons in drawing and piano playing, and who is certainly no fool, rather the contrary, came home deliriously happy one day: they had made her an Octobrist and pinned a badge, with the portrait of Volodya Ulyanov as a boy on it, to her shirt front. Just try and take that star-shaped badge away from a girl of seven, just try and explain to her that the boy depicted on it is a would-be terrorist. And please try not to avert your gaze in the process as the child stares at you in wide-eyed innocence. Is it at all human to draw a child into our ideological passions?

These images of Lenin guide us throughout our lives

As bitterly as our school is criticized today – and often with good reason – school is, nevertheless, the last bastion of tradition. You can't very well strike a child's soul with a sledgehammer. You can't very well tell a boy who has just put on a Young Pioneer's tie that the tie is an "ideological noose." You can't take all the books about Lenin from school overnight. You simply can't! Do get me right, Tatiana Ilyinichna, you have no moral right to do that. If you do, our children will grow up to be cynics, one and all. I am not telling you to lie to our children. But have we adults really sorted out the information we've got about our history into what's true and what's false? So, let's put things in order in our own minds first.

My dear Tatiana Ilyinichna, please carry on your *Female Logic* series, will you? Leave it to men to topple the idols of old. This is not to say that I consider them inferior to us. They are just different. They wreak a lot of destruction, but they also construct. As to women, nature has assigned protective functions to us.

Today some of us women are spoiling for a fight, like Amazons. Men can no longer do without us in their battles, and we have to give them a hand. But let's face it: bashing heads in with sledgehammers is not a job in our line. It does not befit a woman to do that, Tatiana Ilyinichna!

*Natalya Morozova*

# Just between us human beings

*A letter to Natalya Morozova*

Thank you, dear Natalya Pavlovna, for your sincere letter and your kind words. My "Tin Gods" brought a massive response. Messages from my kindred spirits pleased me, naturally. Curses like "Damn you, Ivanova" sent my eyebrows up: I think anyone would be puzzled by the discovery that some people hate his or her guts. Strictly speaking, this is no news to me, but I just can't get used to it. As to threats ("The likes of you ought to be hanged and, just you wait, we'll string you up when the time comes"; "If I had my way, I'd hang this Ivanova slapper up by the legs"), they positively put me out.

You see, Natalya Pavlovna, it's not that I'm afraid, but as I recall all too familiar phrases like "the context of the times," "the logic of struggle" or "à la guerre comme à la guerre," I can't help feeling out of sorts...

> On the other hand, I have already had a chance to announce in public on behalf of all of us, of all those threatened: the compilers of the hit lists, those who intend to hang, shoot and wheel-break us, have chosen the right way to deal with us as far as they are concerned. This is the only way to shut us up. Indeed, they have no option. What do we have to answer those people with such an outstanding power of reasoning? The only answer I can think of is the famous and common Soviet cliché: "You can't hang us all."

Is that the way you feel, too? Are you afraid of democrats? This is what your November 8 *Pravda* article entitled "If I'm Bumped Off..." is about... You do not like Tsipko and Piyasheva and illustrate their belligerency by a letter of the kind I've just quoted. This is a standing trick of *Pravda*'s, and I wonder why you, of all people, should have resorted to it. Don't you see it's a fraud meant for the gullible? Don't you know, Natalya Pavlovna, that democrats have never called for violence in any statement or article, at any meeting, on any occasion whatsoever?

What's more, the reason why they are ascertaining their positions with regard to Lenin is that they hate violence and will never accept it. One's view of the past mirrors one's attitude to the present.

The only contradiction between us is now easy to spell out. You are of the opinion that in history, in time, in reality there are situations in which it is permissible, necessary, and even fair to shoot your compatriot dead or to hang him. Myself, I am convinced that one should not kill his compatriots in any "historical context." That's what our argument is all about.

Can we find some points in common? Hardly so. The division on the matter I have mentioned is so fundamental and so substantial that it doesn't really matter whether we see eye to eye on anything outside it.

The perturbation that the scare letters I get throw me into is not altogether groundless. After all, the people who share your views theoretically think nothing of shooting a compatriot dead in a certain "historical context." Look, even you, a humanitarian, a schoolteacher, a charming person, a mother and a grandmother – even you accept such a prospect.

Now the people whose views I share reject such a prospect in principle and will never resign to it. In Lithuania, in Latvia, wherever.

Death verdicts have detracted nothing from your love and admiration. In the phrase "I have come across these 'horrors' in the context of Lenin's entire heritage" you even put the word "horros" in inverted commas. Which means that the shooting of anyone's son, father, husband or brother does not horrify you. Did I hear you snigger or, God forbid, even purr, as you wrote "all this rhetoric no longer strikes anyone as awesome..."?

Let us take a closer look at the context. Imagine the following scene in the dead of night: a cold apartment, scared children, a trembling wife clutching at the armed intruders' boots and ready for any humiliation, an old mother – and the head of the family suspected of aiding and abetting Socialist Revolutionaries in their wrongdoings (Kaplan has just fired her shot). How did they shoot him? Did they blow his brains out? Or did they put a bullet through his heart? What did he say, what did he think before he died? What became of his children?

You can put quotes in the context of the Collected Works, you can snigger or purr in the context of feature films on the theme of the Civil War. But in the context of our life, of living people, of our wretched, mutilated, humiliated and cheated nation, in the context of our long winters, vast snow-swept plains and sad autumns, in the context of millions of wrecked lives, humiliated old women and children dragged out of their beds – what kind of quotes can be used in this context? What arguments can you adduce to justify that?

Indeed, your idol was not like his comrade-in-arms, Stalin. Indeed, no comparisons should be drawn between them, they are too different. But I do not draw any parallels.

I only say that if someone is known to have blessed mass murders, or just one murder (this is new information, mind you, which has come to light recently), the person in question naturally loses his reputation as a great humanist. And one can understand those who no longer enjoy the sight of monuments to him towering on their cities' best squares. And does anyone really doubt today, at the end of the 20th century, that the idea of worshipping human relics is anachronistic and that it's time this man was buried in an ordinary human cemetery (anyone merits a grave)...

This does not mean that you should stop reading Lenin's Collected Works which you love

so much. Neither does this mean that we shall instantly forget everything sensible we've found in Lenin's writings. All this means that an end ought to be put to the deification of Lenin as a humane leader, and to the practice of using Lenin as a symbol of our state. You see, when representations of Vladimir Ilyich – full-height, as a bust, cap in hand, beckoning the people on, done in bronze, gypsum, marble, papier-mâché, oil paints, gouache, pastel, pencil, engraved on medals, badges, printed on bank notes which cannot even buy a box of matches, are found in every square, in every office, in every corridor of every institution, in any pocket, on millions of jacket lapels – one can't help asking oneself: who is worshipped in this country? There is no getting away from this question.

A close-up of the eyes of Shekhovtsov – "a representative of the cheated generation" – makes your flesh creep. Same here, only I shudder at the sight of the black soul staring at me through those same eyes, at the thought of all those killed, humiliated and tortured to death by such "representatives of the cheated generation." In front of those who have so readily, lasciviously even, let themselves be cheated I imagine the endless rows of victims. Their victims, Natalya Pavlovna. You know, this is a good remedy for fits of crying over the poor "representatives of the cheated generation."

I knew one of those cheated martyrs. He was as real Cheka man, a man of crystal-clear character, a soldier of the Party, he was prepared to die for the cause of Lenin and Stalin. He died of grief after the 20th Congress. His was a very rare surname. Recently I read about the way that "crystal-clear character" had questioned Oleg Volkov – the old Russian writer you may have heard about, who is, most fortunately, still with us. It was like that: the champion of the cause of Lenin and Stalin sat on the edge of a desk, crossing and uncrossing his legs. The tips of the Party soldier's boots were steel-capped. Every time Oleg Volkov gave an answer which, in the loyal Party soldier's opinion, was wrong, the loyal Party soldier struck him with a steel-capped boot tip under a knee, hard. Volkov fainted, because when you are hit this way, it hurts – just for your information, Natalya Pavlovna. After Oleg Volkov came to, the representative of the cheated generation repeated the question and then hit him again, and so on. That was long ago. Volkov is far advanced in years now. The scars under his knee still show.

**Lenin's statue crowning a monument to the 300th anniversary of the Romanovs' house. The old foundation does not agree with the new superstructure**

*Photo by Dmitry Borko*

I do not insist that monuments should be sledgehammered. The pagan in me is very much alive, and if asked to carry a tailor's dummy to a garbage heap I'd wrap it in a piece of cloth first and handle it with care, like a human body. But the monuments which insult conscience and memory ought to be carried away out of sight – and quick, before people's indignation gets out of control.

And now another thing – one before last. You are one of those who spared no effort to give us the impression that Lenin had been democratic, freedom-loving and humane. And I am one of those you had convinced of that. The experts on, and interpreters of Lenin like you were few and far between. Recall the editor of one of today's most progressive papers, or a good playwright... Recall a few remarkable political journalists...

Our life was such that literature and Leniniana were the only places reserved for freedom. The most clever and the best of us contrived to talk about freedom through Lenin, in connection with Lenin, and with Lenin's aid. In literature those were the classics and our contemporaries who used Aesopian language. In Leniniana, the trick was done by cleverly selected and aptly commented quotations.

Ordinary mortals like myself did not read Lenin at leisure, by bed lamp or on vacations. Ordinary mortals like myself knew Lenin from his best and most

talented commentators. The book of quotations called Lenin on Democracy came in very useful in my work: Lenin had no match as a democrat, free thinker, as freedom fighter. If our Politburo made even a fraction of his ideas a reality, we would have enviable freedom by now. That was what I thought as I quoted Lenin from your articles, from your plays, from your essays, and from the anthologies you had compiled. I left it to Lenin to say what censorship would have certainly prevented me from saying and what my editor would have crossed out if I said it on my own behalf. One appealed to Party bosses through Lenin's lips, put them to shame using Lenin's quotations, grieved over their incompetent decisions, non-professionalism, folly, lamented their fatal mistakes – all with Lenin's cooperation.

With your cooperation, Natalya Pavnovna. Thank you for having helped me to survive, to fight. I don't know whether all saw in those numerous volumes "horrors in context," and found justifications for those horros, as you did. Others, perhaps, took those horros as a normal human being should, they shuddered and gasped but did their job all the same, presenting Lenin as a humanist, a democrat and a freedom lover. They simply realized that no one, except Lenin, would be allowed to speak up in this country.

That was normal, healthy cynicism. I can understand those people and, far from condemning them, feel grateful to them.

My purpose in writing the article "Tin Gods" was to protect our children. I wrote that there was no need for complicating and dramatizing things, for inventing difficulties: children will be only too happy to be relieved of the duty to worship the leader. I described my own experiences to illustrate the way children feel about it.

Pretty seven-year-old creatures can be led to idolize Hitler, Pinochet, Ceausescu, Kim Il Sung or Saddam Hussein. You ought to know that better than anyone else.

I prefer not to comment on the quality of children's Leniniana our school textbooks are full of. Stories about Lenin for junior schoolchildren are not even a parody. It would be an understatement to call them a lie. They are just cheap. The President's decree on combating pornography and other such obsenities ought to be applied to them.

And now, about love. I just do not know what love for the leaders is. This is terra incognita to me. I have never loved a leader in my life.

*Tatiana Ivanova*



# Curtains on the window to the West

## Europe awaits the largest wave of emigration in its history

According to predictions by UN experts, in the next 40 years some 25 million people from developing countries will set their sights on the Old World – some ten times more than in the preceeding 40-year period. And just recently, this flood has been joined by a wave from the East.

What is Europe to do about all this? What is it to concentrate its efforts on in the spheres of politics, economics and law? These and other problems were given primary attention at a closed-door conference held in Vienna in late January of the Council of Europe on issues of migration between the East and the West. The final communiqué does not contain any cardinally new positions, speaking merely as it does of the necessity to "coordinate efforts and establish close cooperation in setting up a system of control over emigration." In addition, measures are spelled out which would "aid in improving the standard of living in the countries of Eastern Europe and the importance once again of giving various segments of the population confidence in a better tomorrow." The delegates to the conference spoke out in favour of an agreement among the participating states' nationalities policies in the area of regulation of the flood of immigrants and in favour of continuing the dialogue begun in Vienna.

In the conference lobby I met with the parliamentary state secretary from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for Germany, Horst Waffenschmidt. "For us," he said, "there are two aspects to the problem of Soviet emigrants. The first relates to Soviet Germans. We have taken them in the past, accept them into our country now, and will continue to do so in the future. As for the citizens of other nationalities in the Soviet Union, we would like to see them remain there. On our part, we are willing to aid in making life in the Soviet Union more livable. Persons who have crossed illegally into Germany or have not been granted the status of refugees will be sent out of Germany." Such harsh measures will work, hopes Waffenschmidt, as word of such a policy will quickly spread.

Nor are Soviet emigrants greeted with open arms in Sweden. That became clear after a brief conversation with Swedish Minister for immigrants' affairs Maj-Liz Lööw. She noted that the Swedish economy had virtually no need of an increase in its work force.

"For me it is completely clear," Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alois Mock, said, "that the problem of migration between the East and the West is merely a small part of a worldwide problem. Solving it alone is not possible, even for the most powerful nation in the world. Here what we need to see is international cooperation and the working out of a single approach to establishing regulations governing exit and entry."

The Soviet Union was represented at the conference by a qualified delegation of specialists headed by the Chairman of the State Committee for Labour and Social Affairs, Vladimir Shcherbakov. In his speech, he spoke of the principally new approach of the country's leadership to emigration and about corresponding changes in the Constitution and legal code of the USSR.

In conversations with me, Vladimir identified two types of emigration – ethnic and labour emigration, even the former of which has roots in economic questions. More than half of the Jews who have left the Soviet Union did not settle in Israel, preferring to start new lives in the US, Canada and countries in Western Europe. Right now we are seeing an active emigration of Germans, Armenians and Greeks. We can expect to see emigration of Meskhetian Turks, Assyrians, and people of other nationalities.

As for labour emigration, according to existing pronostications, some 1,5 to 2 million Soviet citizens would like to go to the West to earn money. In addition, the necessary legal preconditions for such action are already in place. Laws on employment already provide citizens with the right to travel abroad to work, and the law on exit currently being discussed will solve the issue of the proper procedures for such activity.

"I would very much like," added Vladimir, for our citizens abroad not to feel themselves second- or third-class citizens. Therefore, we are attempting to guarantee them abroad a high degree of social protection and aid before leaving in resolving medical and pension-related questions as well as many other issues. With this in mind, we are working actively with our Western partners, but our work is proceeding slowly...

*Anatoly Kovrigin,*
our own correspondent,
VIENNA

FROM THE XXth CENTURY POLITICAL THOUGHT

Introduced by *New Times* analyst **Rostislav Zolotaryov**

Nikolai Berdyayev is now very much in vogue here. It would be an understatement to say that Berdyayev's works, which have, at last, found their way to the Soviet book market, have got the average reader interested; this outstanding Russian philosopher is now all the rage. This appears to be a cause for rejoicing over a wrong redressed, though belatedly, and the thinker staging a triumpant comeback.

However, the fly in the ointment is that the remarkable writer is now quoted by anyone who takes the trouble, both appropriately and inappropriately. Quoting Berdyayev has become all but a hallmark of sophistication and progresiveness. More often than not, those quoting Berdyayev do so without looking into, or analyzing, either the evolution of the philosopher's thought, their own attitude to him, or the contradictions inherent in Berdyayev's ideas, the mysteries of which he, admittedly, was not destined to unravel in the process of self-cognition.

Many turn to Berdyayev not only for a weighty confirmation of their own thoughts but also in an attempt to fill the spiritual vacuum in our crisis-stricken society. The danger of this enthusiasm for Berdyayev lies in that it amounts to a search for a new idol, a new prophet. This was exactly what Nikolai Berdyayev's ideas (especially those he voiced late in his life in his Paris discourses about historical destiny) to concepts implying that the path traversed by our country had been predetermined, that the revolution was inevitable, and that socialism was the only alternative in social choice, much though it was distorted by "infidels." According to this concept, the "fourth Russian revolution" was bound to rectify the situation and bring the country back to its "true" predestination and to the "correct" form of socialism. Also thrown in, for good measure, is the transformed imperial idea in the following shape (with a reference to Berdyayev again): the Bolshevik rule is the only rule guaranteeing Russia's safety from the dangers threatening it...

What kind of dangers? That is the main question, which implies a confrontation between "capitalism" and "socialism." That is the question of the revolution. The revolution which had taken place and the revolution that was to have taken place. The thing is that the former did happen, while the latter, a moral one, didn't. The former seduced the people by the idea of socialism – a noble idea but one unsuitable for immediate social enactment (without long ethical and cultural preparation, at least). The other socialism – ethical, Christian – which Berdyayev professed till the end of his days – is "post-capitalist" socialism.

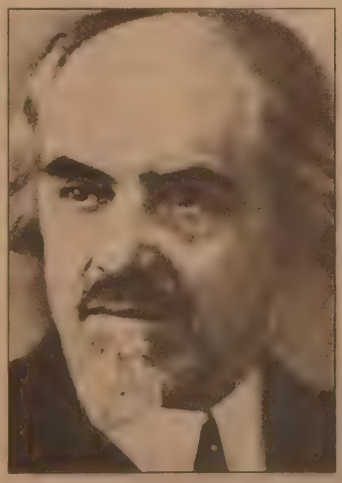
Berdyayev, a Russian, arrived at it having gone through the capitalist ideal, within himself, and having taken a leap ahead of his people and his country. From that perfect vantage point (rather than from far-off capitalist Paris) he could well afford the luxury, in his declining years, of pondering over Russia's fate and predestination.

One can argue over where he was right and where he was wrong, but only in the context of the thinker's entire intellectual and physical experience, specifically the experience of a man who had lived through the revolution and the civil war.

Today we offer you one of Berdyayev's articles based on this experience. Entitled "The 'Bourgeois' and the 'Socialist' Worlds" the article appeared in the *Narodopravstvo* journal in 1918.

# A fairy tale of paradise

*Nikolai Berdyayev (1874–1948)*



The Russian nation has divided into two worlds, one "bourgeois" and the other "socialist" – a phenomenon unprecedented in world history. The unity of humankind as God's own family of a common origin has been destroyed in Russia once and for all. Russia's mankind has broken into two hostile races. From now on, the "bourgeois" man is an enemy to the "socialist" man. The idea of class has killed the idea of man in Russia. The Russian people have ceased approaching one another like man to man. The ideologists of the "socialist" world, its prophets and apostles, allege that this disintegration of mankind, this breaking of any continuity and any unity marks the birth of a new world and a new man. The world, and the man, of old are doomed.

The conflagration of the Russian socialist revolution, which is to spread worldwide, will devour the old "bourgeois" world, and a new, "socialist," world will emerge on its ashes. It is the Russian Bolsheviks who constitute the new race which denies any connection between, and any continuity of these two worlds, and which is out to eliminate all the heritage of the past. In this, they are akin to futurists. Having dismissed any nobleness and any honour as prejudices of the old world, this race has embarked on an enormous experiment of creating a new "socialist" world without anything "bourgeois" about it. The socialists who preach evolution and reforms have kept a certain amount of continuity and imbibe a lot of what is "bourgeois." This "bourgeois" type of socialism predominates in Western Europe.

But Russian revolutionary socialism, which has found its concentrated expression in Bolshevism, despises and rejects this "bourgeois" socialism, and aspires to teach the "bourgeois" nations of the West true socialism and genuine revolutionism. The new race is emerging in Russia and, from Russia, is to announce the advent of an entirely new world.

This is an enormous, indeed messianic, pretension. Such Russian, Slavic messianism was professed by Bakunin who believed that the world conflagration would start in Russia, that the light of the revolution would come from the East. Mr. Lenin, too, turned out to be a Slavophile of sorts, an Eastern "messianist" – he has betrayed Russia and is prepared to annihilate it for the sake of its

global revolutionary mission!

It would certainly be of cognitive interest to find out what is so new about that Russian "socialist" world, and which old values of the "bourgeois" world it rejects. Is a new soul nascent in the socialist race, making these global claims and trying to materialize them through bloody violence?

A scholar may stand aside from the struggle between these two worlds, and he should be above the clash of interests in that struggle. He may assume that much about the "bourgeois" world has been evil, ugly and base, and that the "socialist" world has its merits and its share of good. The final period in the existence of the old "bourgeois" world has not been altogether idyllic. Let us presume that those wishing to grasp the nature and meaning of the current clash between the two worlds are eager, with their heart and soul, to transform our bad old life, to put an end to slavery, sin and meanness, to create a new man, a new human soul. The will for a new, better, transformed life is not necessarily a "socialist" will, it can be a religious, Christian will as well.

A genuine Christian – I mean, a devout not a perfunctory one – cannot be content with old "bourgeois" life based on violence and hate, he wants "a new heaven" and "a new earth," he wants deeper and more radical changes and improvements than even the most revolutionary socialist does. Therefore, the "socialist" world may appear to him to be the same decrepit old world of sinful men, slaves to their passions, to their malicious and selfish instincts, the same "bourgeois" world, just mechanically restructured and repackaged.

Won't the "socialist" world inherit all the "bourgeois" sins and vices, won't it merely distribute "bourgeois values" more evenly and refine them to perfection?

The revolutionary socialist experiment being performed on wretched Russia is most revealing and instructive. We now see that the "socialist" world vehemently casts aside all that was best in the "bourgeois" world, all the timeless values of the past created by our father and grandfathers. On the other hand, it adopts and augments all that was the worst about the "bourgeois" world, all the sins, ills and abominations of the past, of our fathers and grandfathers. The only continuity the "socialist" world maintains is that of malicious vindictiveness and malicious jealousy; the latter chains it to the past in hopeless bondage. The "socialist" world remains true to the most selfish traditions of the past. There remain "five insatiable urges plus the sixth insatiable urge – vanity."

The Bolshevik "socialist" world which has come into being in Russia looks like the scum of the "bourgeois" society enveloped in the sickly and malodorous miasma of the past and in the shadows of old darkness. Evil spirit is issuing from the Russian people. Where are the new men and new values to be found in the "socialist" revolution into which Russia has been bayonetted by soldiery? The "socialist" world does not show the slightest sign of creative endeavour. The old world was rich in creativity, and now the "socialist" world is expropriating all its creative effort, its values have been created by men of "bourgeois" origin – Saint-Simon, Owen, Marx, Lassalle rather than by proletarians.

Like all ideas, socialist ideas have their roots in a society which sets its members high standards of education, talent and culture. The "socialist" world emerging in our country sets no qualifications for creative work – I mean spiritual rather than material qualifications. What is going on in Russia today strikes one as the destruction of the old world. However, this destruction is being carried out by the negative and degenerating forces of the old world who have fallen into chaos and decay. The souls of the people working the "socialist" revolution are awfully old, their instincts arch-conservative, their feelings and thoughts inert; they obviously personify the more brutal nature of man, responsible for the most evil deeds of the "bourgeois" world.

This brutal nature has shaken off its shackles, it has got out of control, normally imposed by civilization and law. There has been much violence and many outrages upon man in the old "bourgeois" world. Has the new "socialist" world rejected, or triumphed over, this old evil?

**Relief will come with the realization that the idea of creating a paradise on earth is exactly what makes life on earth hell**

Not at all; it is perpetrating a thousand times more violence and more outrages upon man. This "new" world has rejected not violence and humiliation but all human dignity, all honour and nobleness in principle, dismissing them as prejudices.

Having adopted violence from the old world, this new world is using it in an unrestricted and undisguised way. The Russian "socialist" world has kept the "bourgeois" world's bayonets and is using them to maintain its undivided sway over the Russian people. It has kept the old world's prisons and the old world's practice of spying on "suspects" and it has given its own jailers and spies a free hand. The old "bourgeois" world did not care much for freedom and, because of its spiritual impotence, could not live with freedom. As to the new "socialist" world, it hates freedom and exterminates it without a trace. The very idea of human freedom and sacred human rights is alien to that new world.

There has been a lot of selfishness and hideous egoism in the old "bourgeois" world. Has the new "socialist" world overcome and rejected this evil? Not at all; self-interest and egoism have further intensified within its boundaries and, indeed, have come to reign supreme. The only difference is that in the old world self-interest and egoism were not absolutized by those who still distinguished between good and evil but rather considered sinful and despicable; in the new "socialist" world, these low instincts are regarded as sacred and lofty because all that matters to that world is the self-assertion of man, his well-being, satisfaction and enjoyment.

The "bourgeois" world was a sinful and self-interested one. As to the "socialist" world, it sanctifies this sinfulness and self-interest, it aims at eliminating the feeling of guilt and at making man full of conceit, at making him impudent. The "socialist" world has added intense malignant jealousy to the sins of the "bourgeois" world, and announced it to be the supreme social virtue. Segregation inherited from the old world has become still more strongly pronounced in the "socialist" world and man-hating "class struggle" is seen as a supreme social virtue. A person is judged by his class affiliation rather than by his moral qualities. No new life elevating man, ennobling the human image and improving the human visage is being created.

In the latest period of its existence, the "bourgeois" world has lost in spirituality and gained in materialism. Is the "socialist" world

more spiritual and less materialistic? Oh, no, it is more materialistic, but extinguishes spirit, it does not merely ignore spirit but negates and eliminates it. The "socialist" world's materialism, which dissociates itself from all the supreme spiritual realities and spiritual values, is the materialism of the "bourgeois" world – but intensified and made all-embracing. The "bourgeois" world came to question spiritual realities and spiritual values, it lost faith in the next world, it became a religious. The "socialist" world is building up its kingdom on the basis of this disbelief and non-religion of the "bourgeois" world. The "socialist" world elevates its atheism to a religion and is proud of it. The "socialist" world makes "bourgeois" utilitarianism the basis of its way of life.

The old "bourgeois" world still had its doubts as to whether lack of faith was so praiseworthy after all, it was divided on the matter of religion and, in its lucid intervals, condemned its Godlessness. The "socialist" world is more integral in this respect, it is smugly contented with its Godlessness and prides itself on its atheism. Whereas the "bourgeois" world is accused of using the human personality and the human soul as a means of serving its material interests and maintaining its material social environment, the "socialist" world goes even further that that: it totally ignores the human personality and the human soul, it ignores everything but the material social environment. This world is strictly two-dimensional, it lacks depth. All that is bad, evil and soulless about the old "bourgeois" world is slavishly imitated and made worse still by the complacent "socialist" world.

**The "socialist" idea with its slogan of "expropriate and divide" is, besides everything else, akin to the philistine's dream of satiety**

The new "socialist" world perpetuates a smug "bourgeois" mentality immune to guilt. It has not absolved all sins in advance – it has just discouraged people from feeling guilty and from repenting their sins.

Found in the old "bourgeois" world, the world of our fathers and grandfathers was not only evil, but great values as well. Now the "socialist" world is rejecting and exterminating these values. The old "bourgeois" world had holiness and genius embodied in brilliant figures, it had Pushkin and St. Serafim. (Serafim of Sarov (1760–1833), one of Russia's most revered ascetics; the relics of the saint's body have recently been found in Leningrad's Kazan cathedral. – **Ed.).** In the "socialist" world there will be no saints and men of genius – they are denied by the very principles underlying this new world, they will be forcefully drowned in the drab depersonalized mass, in the faceless collective, they will be hated for their very superiority over the others. The new world will dissolve any quality in quantity. In the old world there were many good prejudices now rejected. Such "bourgeois prejudices" include elementary law abidance, rules of civilized conduct, elementary distinctions between good and evil the knowledge of which was obligatory for any moral being.

The Bolsheviks' "socialist" world is that side of good and evil, what it has fallen into is not immorality but moral idiocy. It is that side of civilization which, instead of advancing towards moral perfection, has relapsed into primitive brutality.

The old "bourgeois" world nourished the "prejudice" of legality, even though its commitment to legality was, quite often, not too firm. The new "socialist" world exterminates all legality and denies the very idea of the rule of law. The old "bourgeois" world created Great Russia, the great Russia state, it nourished such "prejudices" as patriotism, national honour, and sense of duty. The new "socialist" world has abolished the states dismembered Russia, turned our Motherland into a garbage heap, abused patriotic feelings, national honour and dignity in forms unprecedented in history.

The "bourgeois" world had to reckon not only with property qualification (overrating which was its weakness and its sin) but also with spiritual qualification, it set great store by the individual's personal qualities, talent, standard of education and culture. The "socialist" world detests any qualitative distinctions and any spiritual advantages, dissolves the bright individual in impersonal drabness of the "masses", and sacrifices quality to quantity. It has rejected the "prejudices" of the individual, his responsibility, his dignity and his primogenitary freedom. Those were Christian "prejudices" revealed to us by God Himself. The "socialist" world has rejected that old "prejudice" – faith in God. Therein lies its secret. It has committed treason with regard to eternity. It has rejected the old "bourgeois" world's eternal timeless values, and adopted all of that world's vices, all its selfishness and all its sinful slavery.

Spiritual recovery will come from the realization that the world is not divided into "bourgeois" and "socialist" factors, that notions like "bourgeois" and "socialist" are abstractions with a very complicated and multiform reality, both spiritual and material, behind them. What remains eternal is the distinction between good and evil, beauty and ugliness, truth and lies, God and the devil. This is not the distinction between human interests but something higher and deeper, than that.

Relief will come with the realization that the idea of a "socialist" paradise on earth is exactly what makes life on earth hell. This ghostly paradise "will retain all the *demoniac* nature of man. Wild in itself, it will rave without rein or law." (Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution* – **Ed.).** One ought to think not about paradise on earth or carnal desires but about the performance of one's moral duty and the assertion of God's truth.

*Compiled by*
*N. Omelchenko*

Forty-seven-year-old Colonel-General **Boris Gromov**, who was recently appointed Soviet First Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs, is holding talks with the Lithuanian government on ways of relaxing the situation in Lithuania. The general has some experience in pulling out troops from Soviet-occupied territories – two years ago the 40th Army led by General Gromov left Afghanistan. It looks as though in Lithuania he will meet veterans of the Afghan war. The Lithuanian Union of Veterans of the Afghan War told the USSR Supreme Soviet committee for the affairs of soldiers-internationalists (Gromov is a member) that if the armed invasion of Lithuania continued the "Afghans" would organize a rebuff.

There's no doubt that Lithuanian veterans are serious in their intentions. At the end of 1989 they held a demonstration during which they tore off their medals and orders received in Afghanistan, thereby showing that they are a force to be recognized.

Gromov's military career began in the Baltics. In the 1960s the young graduate of the Leningrad Higher Military School named after S.M.Kirov served in the Baltic Military District as a commander of a platoon and then of a company.

The day he was appointed deputy minister Gromov changed his uniform for civilian clothes. And several days earlier he brought an action against People's Deputy, Colonel Vilen Martirosyan, who described Gromov in an interview for the Kiev *Komsomolskoye Znamya* paper as a person advocating a military coup in the country. Gromov claimed that this was slander.

A year ago Gromov spoke resolutely against the army's participation in settling internal disputes and crisis situations, especially in ethnic disputes.

* * *

**Sergei Bogdanovsky** is the producer of the first Soviet religious TV show *Blagovest* (Annunciation). The test edition of this 35-minute-long programme was shown at the end of last year within the framework of Author's Television – an independent TV studio, whose stand does not always coincide with the position of the Soviet State Committee for Television and Radio. Since Author's Television has not yet been officially closed down and the Committee leadership claims that it will soon go on the air, Soviet TV viewers may get a chance to see the *Blagovest* show.

Sergei says that so far his show has faced many difficulties, both financial and technical. "The coming three shows were sponsored by the Finist commercial bank," he says. "The first of these three is ready to go on the air on February 3." As for the programme's future, it is uncertain.

Sergei Bogdanovsky claims that under conditions of religious "pluralism," it is necessary to invite representatives of different denominations to the studio. On February 3 TV viewers will be addressed by the Metropolitan of Rostov and Novocherkassk Vladimir and the Imam of the Moscow Mosque. But he says that in future the show will be aimed only at those who belong to the Russian Orthodox Church.

Sergei almost graduated from the Biological Department of the Moscow State University – the day he was to defend his graduation paper he was expelled from the University "for unseemly behavior defaming the name of a Soviet student." He believed in God and was not trying to conceal his convictions. During the next 12 years he led church choirs. He is a newcomer to television however.

* * *

**Ivan Antonovich,** a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has been interviewed by the Belgrade weekly *NIN*. The Russian Communist said that Germany's unification was connected with great psychological problems for Russia. "It would be no mistake to say that for practically every citizen of our country Germany's unification was a personal tragedy," he said. Antonovich headed an official party delegation to Yugoslavia.

The 53-year-old secretary who graduated from the Minsk State Pedagogical Institute of Foreign

## A dentist for babies

Prof. **Larisa Frolova** is the head of the only Soviet scientific and practical complex for treating children with inborn face and jaw defects. For the first time scientists and practical doctors pooled their efforts within the framework of this complex. They not only treat their patients, but also conduct scientific research, work out new operation methods and develop new medical equipment.

The number of children born with harelips and cleft palates has been growing all over the world. In the centre headed by Larisa Frolova these children are treated by pediatricians, surgeons, anesthesiologists and speech therapists. Babies are brought there during the first hours of their lives. The parents cannot even realize how badly distorted the face of their baby is, who cannot even suck his mother's breast. Babies are returned to their parents practically healthy.

"The main thing," says Prof. Frolova, "is to help the child at once. Children treated at this clinic find it much easier to live: they get to mix with their contemporaries after their defects have been removed, so, unlike children with severe deformities, they do not receive any psychological stress. The defects are removed at the very start of life."

The head of the centre has been working in this field for 40 years now. Upon graduation from the Moscow Stomatological Institute she went to Tashkent, where, with the help of her teacher, she set up a department of stomatology at the local medical college. She received first a Master's and then a Doctor's degree and became the dean of the department. She then returned to Moscow and for twenty years has been treating children suffering from severe defects.

"We not only remove the defect," says Frolova, "but we also fully rehabilitate the child. Since we combine science and practical work in a single process, we managed to overcome the usual bureaucratic muddle, when the research institute belongs to one department and the hospital to another."

The child's parents can also find out in the centre how high the chances are for their future children having the same defect. Doctors continue to look after their patients till they reach the age of 16.

The research and treatment complex has gained financial independence, and now its personnel can earn money which they will later invest in expanding research.

Languages worked at research institutions of the Byelorussian Academy of Sciences. In 1969 he joined the staff of the UN Secretariate. Later he was a counsellor of the Soviet permanent mission at UNESCO. After that he headed the Department of culture of Byelorussia's Communist Party Central Committee. This period of his life is well known now due to an article by Ales Adamovich in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*. In it the writer recalls the following words of his countryman, a Communist and cultural leader: "Why are you trying to scare us with a nuclear war? How do you know that the entire humanity will perish in it? Even if a mere 10 people remain of our nation, the main thing is that they should remain Soviet people. S o v i e t. This is the goal of my work and your work as a writer." Apparently, Antonovich is still true to his views on international policy and makes no secret of it.

His views on the future of our country and the Union republics are quite clear-cut too. Here's what he said in the same interview about the signing of the Union Treaty: "Almost all the republics realize that none of them can exist outside the Union." Antonovich believes that it is "Yeltsin's separatism" that is dangerous, rather than the republics' positions. And on behalf of the Russian people he added that Russia would not accept separatism and Yeltsin would be turned down if he didn't rethink. Antonovich also said that this position was expressed in numerous letters sent by Russian Communists to the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party.

* * *

Among the latest winners of the USSR State Prize in Science and Engineering is a Moscow surgeon **Vladimir Golubchikov**. We have such an inferiority complex because of our constant lagging behind foreign achievements, that we can hardly believe it when we learn about Soviet priority in some field. Doctor Golubchikov, a urologist and military doctor (Colonel of the Medical Service), is among the authors of a unique URAT–P apparatus, meant for "crushing stones in kindneys without resorting to the scalpel." Behind this

laconic formula are thousands of people cured from the disease. The treatment method used by Vladimir Golubchikov and his colleagues is called lithotripcy. It cures 96 percent of patients. The doctors do not use complicated types of anaesthetics while the apparatus and the electrodes for it are much cheaper and more durable than those made abroad.

What is especially amazing is that Golubchikov, a skillful surgeon, who has carried out numerous excellent and complex operations, turned to this new method which does not need the scalpel. Modern technology enters the most ancient and traditional spheres of human activity, when the aim is noble – to alleviate the patient's sufferings.

Vladimir Golubchikov, who is 55, is an Honored Doctor of the Russian Federation. His wife Valentina is a journalist and the chief editor of the magazine *Severnye Prostory* (Northern Expanses). They have two sons, the eldest of whom followed in his father's footsteps and became a doctor, while the youngest studies world economic problems. The family hobby is the sauna.

* * *

The 44-year-old director of the Scientific and Research Institute of Culture of the USSR Ministry of Culture, **Kirill Razlogov**, who has for a long time contributed to our magazine, has become president of the Euro-ASC, a new organization which emerged within the framework of the Association of Soviet Cinema Initia-

tives that was previously known as The American-Soviet Cinema Initiative.

The first action of Euro-ASC was the film festival Masterpieces of European Cinema. Unknown in the USSR, which presented movies labelled before as "anti-Soviet," "slanderous" and "amoral."

The new president spent his childhood in France, where his father, a Bulgarian diplomat, worked at that time. There Kirill learnt French. He also knows English, Spanish, German and Bulgarian. He studied Swedish and Japanese. In 1969 he graduated from the Department of History of Art of Moscow State University. He is the author of numerous articles and a number of pamphlets. He worked as an adviser to the last two chairmen of the State Committee for Cinematography – Yermash and Kamshalov. He was recently made head of the Scientific and Research Institute of Culture, and is taking an active part in scientific and social work. He is professor of the State Institute of Cinematography.

His festivals of masterpieces will probably become an annual event. But the president of Euro-ASC dreams of holding a festival somewhere near Sverdlovsk, where "Europe would meet Asia."

## The man who posed problems to demographers

**Murad Adjiyev,** scientific counsellor of the *Vokrug Sveta* magazine (something like the *National Geographic*) has discovered a new ethnic group populating the Soviet Union – the Talyshes. In 1938 the Talyshes, who inhabited the southern parts of Azerbaijan, were erased from the demographic map of the Soviet Union, and that was the last we heard about them. Thanks to the article in the *Vokrug Sveta* magazine many people know about them now.

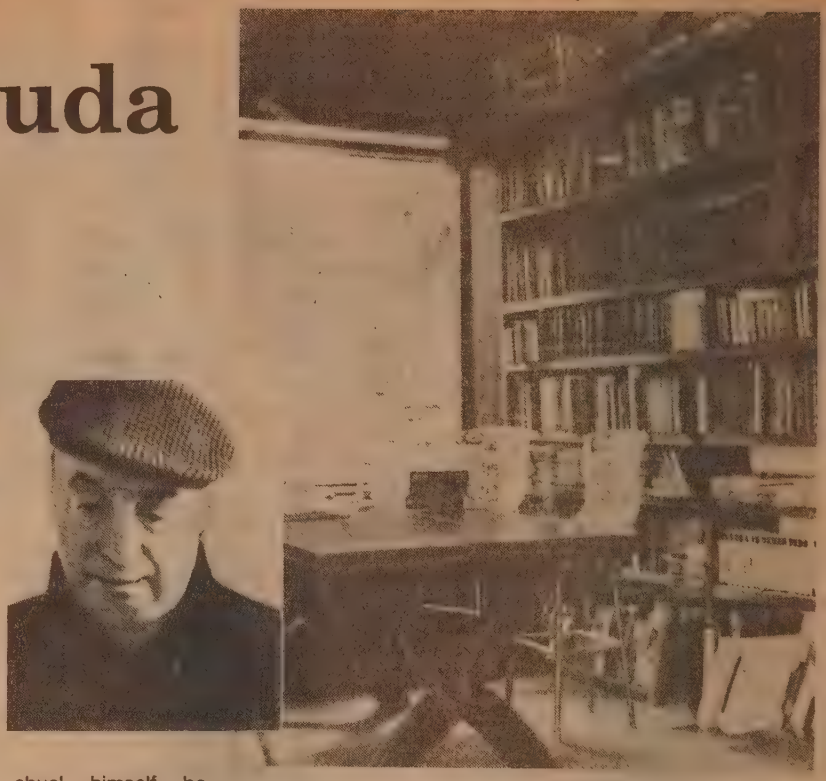
"When I was gathering material for the article I saw how an entire ethnic group was deprived of civil rights by local governing bodies," Adjiyev says.

He says they threatened him with death. And it was not the mafia who were threatening him, but rather local functionaries of different levels, who tried their utmost to prevent the article from being published. But the bomb exploded, and it looks like the ethnic group numbering one million people is entering a new age: a cultural centre was opened for them, a newspaper in the Talysh language is published, and students of local schools began to study their native language.

Meanwhile, Murad Adjiyev has got a new idea: he is going to publish the *Caucasus* magazine. He wants it to be a depoliticized publication, meant for a broad range of readers and capable of "meeting the historical and cultural demands of nations, big and small." "We will tell you about the badly known pages from the history of the region, whose territory equals that of France," says Adjiyev. The editor has sensational materials about the appearance of the Cossaks, German colonies and Russian old-believers' settlements in the Caucasus. At present Adjiyev gathers historical research, legends and even folk tales which he wants to publish.

The first materials to be carried by the *Caucasus* anthology are likely to include Murad's essay about the history of the Polovets tribes, his own ancestors.

# The Neruda library mystery



Neruda willed his library to the people of Chile

The entire affair began when the Madrid *El Pais* reported that tomes from Pablo Neruda's personal library had been displayed at a book exhibition in the Spanish capital. Santiago was sceptical as Neruda had never sold a single book from his library outside the country.

Still the news was confirmed. It transpired more specifically that each of the 102 books shown had the poet's bookplate inside, while in the margins of many Neruda had himself jotted down in his favourite green ink remarks and comments that undoubtedly increased their value.

How come these books turned up in Madrid, moreover as the property of the well known bibliophile Jacques Hachuel, the exhibition's sponsor? To clarify the issue the president of the Pablo Neruda Foundation, Chile's sole organization preserving everything associated with the poet including his books which he willed to the people of Chile, dispatched his lawyer Jorge del Rio to Madrid. The latter established that Jacques Hachuel had bought the books at a second-hand bookshop in Frankfort on the Main, owned by the Auvermann and Reiss firm. He also learned that there were some 2,000 such books, besides the 102 exhibited in Madrid. He also acquired copies of the two catalogues the firm had issued in 1985. One listed 87 collections of Neruda's poetry, mostly firsts, the other, upwards of 1,300 books by Latin American writers, including a number presented to Pablo Neruda. The lawyer also found that Auvermann and Reiss had acquired these books at a Sotheby's auction in London and that in turn the books had cost Hachuel 64 million pesos or around $200,000.

However, it is still unknown how the books turned up at the Sotheby's auction and in Frankfort on the Main. Hanchuel himself believes that the books he purchased had been presented at various times to Luis Urrutia, Neruda's brother-in-law, who later had supposedly sold them, after which they had found their way into Germany. However, Luis Urrutia's daughter has refuted that claiming in a notorized document that her father had never sold any of his books, the more so those presented by Neruda. True, after her father's death in january 1971, her brother Siglo had indeed sold some 30 books including some presented by Neruda. However, these had been the poet's own works, moreover in third and subsequent editions. (Visitors to the Madrid exhibition indeed saw some of the books presented to Luis Urrutia, actually collections of Neruda's own poetry).

However, concerned were not just 30 volumes and Neruda's own books but rare editions by other writers. Hence the version according to which the said books were acquired at a Sotheby's auction seems more like the true story. Sotheby's most meticulously conceals sources from which the items auctioned are received and this time again they would not reveal the source. However, it is plain that the origins of the mystery should be sought in Chile.

In search of these origins I interviewed Pablo Neruda's close friend, Jorge Edwards, himself a leading Chilean writer. This is what he told me.

Neruda had a special flair for book collecting (may I note in passing that among his verses he has An Ode to the Book and An Ode to the Printshop). He had a particular fancy for rare editions and incunabula, possessing some tomes that Cervantes or even Columbus may have thumbed. However, he was no scrooge and in 1954, presented his library of several thousand volumes to the University of Chile, after which he immediately started assembling a new library.

Following the Popular Unity government's advent to power, Neruda was designated Chile's Ambassador to France. In his two years in Paris he asembled the more valuable part of his library, more specifically a handwritten collection by the eminent Nicaraguan poet Ruben Dario and an extremely rare edition of Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du Mal*. Shortly before the Pinochet coup, illness obliged Neruda to resign his office and return to Chile. The personal property and books that he dispatched by sea arrived in the Chilean port of Valparaiso in November

1973, after his death, coincidental with the worst initial months of the national tragedy. The poet's widow, Matilde Urrutia, wanted to reclaim the cargo, but at the customs, she was told the luggage had been rerouted to an army unit, on the pretext that weapons had supposedly been found there. (A characteristic sidelight: immediately after the coup Neruda's home in Isla Negra was raided. The officer in charge demanded of the sick poet that he be shown where he was "hiding communist weapons." With difficulty the poet raised his finger to indicate a stack of books in front of him as the said "weapons.") Matilde called on the indicated army unit where she was told she would be invited to come, after the boxes had been opened and checked. However, the invitation was not forthcoming. It is indeed hard to say whether she would have ever been able to demand reposession of these properties, had she not happened to chance upon newspaper pictures demonstrating the "weapons" that "Neruda had brought from France."

**"We were guilty of grave blunders in respect of books... and began to be compared to Hitler"**

Jorge Edwards took down from a bookshelf Matilde's recollections *My Life with Pablo Neruda*, turned to the required page and read: "I was disgusted with this gall and decided to demand explanations and denials. However, friends disuaded me. The situation was so tense that the military might take any action: hence demands for justice could have had unpredictable consequences; I might have even lost my life. I had to stay silent and hoped to get only what would be returned. I could have drawn up a long list of what had disappeared. Saddest of all was that valuable books from the Paris collection had been stolen. When I couldn't bear it any longer and asked why the boxes were half empty, the officer condescendently stared at me and said: "Don't you know they contained weapons which we confiscated?" Jorge Edwards believes it was these books, as well as those stolen from Isla Negra that found their way to Madrid.

Allow me to add one more testimonial afforded by a retired colonel who had been directly involved in the September 11, 1973 coup. "Indeed," he frankly admitted, "in those first few months after the takeover, we were guilty of grave blunders in respect of books. Whenever we discovered books we thought dangerous we tossed them out and burned them right there and then in the street or square. This became known outside the country and we began to be compared to Hitler. We stopped burning books in public, preferring to destroy them in army compounds. However towards the close of 1973 it was decided to no longer destroy such books, but to put them away until special notice." Hernan Millas, the Chilean newsman who interviewed the retired colonel asked him what had eventually happened to these books, whether they had been destroyed or exported to be sold at a goodly profit. The colonel refused to reply. However the question is quite reasonable as Hernan, the younger brother of Orlando Millas, a man prominent in the Chilean Communist party, was himself victimized by the military's "new policy" in respect to books.

Indeed, when after the takeover Orlando had to flee, he handed his library to his brother, in the hope that the latter would be able to preserve it. However, in December 1975 agents of DINA the secret police searched Hernan's house and took away practically all the books there. Several years later Orlando's son, then living in Holland, read in a letter from a friend that the latter had seen his father's books in a Paris bookshop. He at once went to Paris and bought some fo the books that DINA had "confiscated" from his father's library in Santiago.

Was this how Neruda's own books eventually found their way to Madrid? As yet this is but conjecture, but it might be confirmed. The Human Rights Commission of the Chilean National Congress' lower chamber is investigating secret documents most of which refer to the activities of the armed forces between September 11, 1973 and March 11, 1990. Some of these documents might reveal us what happened to the personal library of the eminent Chilean poet.

Meanwhile the Neruda Foundation has required of Jacques Hachuel that he present receipts confirming lawful purchase and is at the same time looking for ways and means of returning these books to Chile.

*Anatoly Medvedenko*

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